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LIVES OF THE WARRIORS

WHO HAVE

COMMANDED FLEETS AND ARMIES

BEFORE THE ENEMY.

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Warriors of the Seventeenth Century.

BY

GENERAL THE HON. SIR EDWARD CUST, D.C.L.

AUTHOR OF THE "ANNALS OF THE WARS."

"For to read History only for contemplation is a vain and idle pleasure, which passeth away without fruit; but to imitate the virtue of those praised men in it, is the true and public learning."—*Icon Animorum.*

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LIVES OF THE WARRIORS

WHO HAVE COMMANDED FLEETS BEFORE THE ENEMY.

CONTENTS.

WARRIORS WHO HAVE COMMANDED FLEETS BEFORE THE ENEMY.

ADMIRAL BLAKE.

ADMIRAL TROMP.

ADMIRAL DE RUYTER.

ADMIRAL LORD SANDWICH.

ADMIRAL DU QUESNE.

ADMIRAL VAN TROMP.

ADMIRAL THE DUKE OF YORK (JAMES II.).

MARÉCHAL DE TOURVILLE.

ADMIRAL HERBERT, EARL OF TORRINGTON.

MARÉCHAL D'ESTRÉES.

ADMIRAL RUSSELL, EARL OF ORFORD.

COMMODORE JEAN BART.

MARÉCHAL DE CHÂTEAU-REGNAUD.

ADMIRAL BENBOW.

ADMIRAL SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL.

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE.

ROBERT BLAKE.

A PARLIAMENTARY ADMIRAL.

Born 1598. Died 1657.

THIS celebrated sea officer was the son of Humphrey Blake, who, having acquired a considerable fortune as a Spanish merchant, purchased a small estate in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, where our hero was born in August, 1598. He received the first rudiments of instruction at the Grammar School of the town; but his parents being desirous of giving him a superior education, entered him early at Oxford. Here he remained about seven years, and applied himself with assiduity to carry out his father's wishes, but was unsuccessful in his endeavours to obtain a studentship at Christ Church, or a fellowship at Merton; and accordingly he quitted the University in 1623, with the degree of M.A. According to Clarendon, he returned to his paternal home at Bridgewater

1598. His birth and education.

Leaves Oxford in 1623.

1624. when about twenty-seven years old, just in time to receive the parting breath of his father in 1624.

"Of Blake's earlier years we have no account, and therefore can amuse the reader with none of those prognostics of his future actions so often met with in memoirs. He was of a melancholic and a sullen nature; yet he spent his time most with good fellows (Radicals), who liked his moroseness and the freedom he used in inveighing against the license of the time, and the power of the Court and Church." He had certainly imbibed an anti-monarchical spirit at a time when few men thought the kingdom in any danger, and were indifferent to those who possessed it. He had also attached himself to the Puritan party, and in April, 1640, he was, on what would now be termed "liberal principles," elected burgess in the new Parliament for his native town. The speedy dissolution of that assembly in the following month deprived him of an opportunity of trying his powers as a debater; and at the new election he did not recover his seat.

Elected for Bridgewater in 1640.

Thus when the Civil War broke out Blake was already, in a certain sense, a public man; and he declared for the Parliament, in conformity with his already avowed principles. But, thinking that a bare declaration for right was not all the duty of a good citizen, he at once raised a troop of dragoons, and appeared in the field with a good following, and with so much bravery, that he was noticed for it. It will surprise no one who learns his character to hear that he was soon advanced to the rank of Captain; so that in 1643, at the siege of Bristol, he had entrusted to his keeping the command of a little fort upon the line, which he refused to give up to Prince Rupert after Colonel Fiennes, the Governor, had signed the articles of surrender. This angered the Prince to such a degree, that he declared that if he could catch Blake he would have him hung for such a violation of the customs of war. Blake took Taunton by surprise, and

He refuses to surrender to Prince Rupert, 1643.

subsequently held it as Governor, when the Lord Goring came up before the place with an army of 10,000 men. The town was ill fortified and ill supplied with every thing necessary for supporting a siege; but this was just the occasion on which a man like Blake could evince his qualities. Windham indeed, who was personally a friend and acquaintance of Blake, proposed a capitulation: but Blake resisted this with scorn and indignation, and maintained the place under all the disadvantages of a breach in the walls, until the siege was raised by the Parliament's army in 1645. This service was so highly esteemed that the House voted him a Parliamentary grant of 500*l.*: for Taunton was deemed a possession of much importance, as being the only fortress then possessed by the popular party in the West of England.

1645. — Blake's successful defence of Taunton, 1645; for which Parliament votes him 500*l.*

Although Blake had now come to be regarded as a leading man, yet it does not appear that he again resumed his seat in the House: nevertheless he gave unmistakable proofs on all occasions of his firm adherence to the Parliamentary cause, although he was very far from proceeding with it in the measures that led to the death of Charles I., but, on the contrary, openly disapproved of that measure as unjust and illegal; and made no scruple of declaring, in the openness and humanity of his temper, "that he would as freely venture his life to save the King as ever he did to serve the Parliament."

Disapproved the execution of Charles I.

The moderation of Blake's character made it soon apparent that he was not a man to be cajoled by Cromwell and his associates in the steps contemplated by them as the consequences of the King's death. Even previously to that consummation they had evinced considerable jealousy and suspicion of the honest resolution and military genius of the successful defender of Taunton; and the party of the Independents had taken the precaution of lessening his power by disbanding the principal portion of the forces en-

1645. — trusted to his command. Nevertheless he was already too important a character in the eye of the public to be set aside, and the House was accordingly moved to express renewed thanks and gratitude for his eminent services, accompanied by a second donation of 500*l.*

Parliament votes him a second donation.

1649. Appointed to a command of the Parliament Fleet.

In February, 1649, he was offered a share in the command of the Parliament Fleet, with Colonel Deane and Colonel Popham. Although for the limited period of nine months, yet he readily consented to act with men who had been his personal friends and comrades in the war, though altogether unused to serve afloat. Thus he became, by a title invented for the occasion, General of the Fleet: for at this period military and naval commands were considered by no European nation as incompatible.

Disgraceful state of the Navy.

But when the newly-appointed Parliament Admirals went on board their ships of war, they found them so utterly out of condition, that it was the first requisite to constitute the three commanders into a Board of Commissioners of the Navy, to inquire into and amend the service. When the new officials came to examine in detail the actual state of affairs, they found the disorders greater than ever they had apprehended. Few of the vessels were even seaworthy. Abuses existed every where to such a degree that the stores and arms were systematically stolen or purloined, and the wages of the sailors were insufficient and irregularly paid; so that a natural dissatisfaction existed throughout the service. The energy and character of the new Commissioners were soon evinced; for they examined with their own eyes both the dockyards and the ships. The idle, the vicious, and the disaffected of the crews were at once discharged, and the ablest commanders were searched out and employed as captains of the respective vessels.

The details of the work must, however irksome, be

deemed to have been assiduously performed, since it was a short interval when, on the 18th April, 1649, Blake set his foot on deck as a naval Commander, and began the career on which his fame depends at the age of fifty. Although one of three Commissioners, Blake is always spoken of as taking the lead in all matters of command. To Blake was committed the task of chasing, fighting, and destroying the freebooting fleet under Prince Rupert, wherever they might be found. The two brothers, Rupert and Maurice, had with a few ships of the royal fleet taken possession of Kinsale, whence they sallied forth on their marauding expeditions, and the harbour was soon filled with the prizes they had made from the commercial navy of all nations.

1649.

Blake commences his naval career, 18th April, 1649.

Prince Rupert takes Kinsale.

Blake, therefore, with the Commonwealth flag (the old English Jack, a red cross on a white ground) flying from the main-mast of the "Triumph," passed down the Channel, and stood for the harbour of Kinsale with two frigates. On their way they encountered a storm, after which they fell in with the first vessel of the enemy (which had been separated from its consorts), whom they forced to surrender. Pushing forward after this success, they came upon the companion ships, whom they chased into the pirate hold, where, with Ayscue's assistance, Blake thought to close them in. Under such circumstances the resolution was taken by the Prince of preparing an opportunity for forcing his way out of harbour, as soon as the season broke up, and that the Parliament fleet should be again driven from the blockade. This occurred towards the end of October, when a violent gale having scattered the blockading squadron from the offing, Rupert and Maurice seized the opportunity, and, getting the start unobserved, made sail direct for the Tagus.

Escape of Prince Rupert from Kinsale.

Blake had thus effected the object of his duty by clearing the inland seas of every enemy. It is stated, however, that information now reached the British

1650. — Government that, while on their progress down the Portuguese coast, the Princes had met with two English merchantmen bound from London to San Lucar, whom after a desperate struggle they had captured and carried into the Tagus, where they forthwith manned them for war service. The home traders made such urgent complaints of the insecurity of British commerce at this time, that the Council of State adopted the then unusual resolution of fitting out a winter fleet, of which they gave the command to Blake, under a new commission expressly to go in quest of these pestilent marauders.

His new fleet consisted of five ships, carrying altogether 114 guns, and the Commodore placed his flag on the vessed called "The Tiger." These were ready for sea by the middle of January, 1650; and it was promised him that eight more ships should follow in the spring, of which five should be men-of-war. When Blake appeared at the mouth of the Tagus, he forthwith sent in a messenger to the King of Portugal, to inform him that the strange fleet in his port belonged to the enemies of the Commonwealth of England, and he demanded leave to fall upon it at their anchorage. King John declined the proposition, but in very soft terms, accompanied with declarations of esteem, and a present of provisions. Blake affected not to comprehend the King's answer, and ordered his boats to cross the bar. A few shots from Belem Castle, however, stopped them, and the Admiral desired a reason for this show of hostility against a friendly power, "there being no war at that time betwixt Portugal and England." Not satisfied with the reply of the officer in charge of the Castle, the Admiral sent in a complaint to the Government at Lisbon, declaring that he was anxious not to violate a friendly river, but that he was the representative of a powerful nation, and that the fugitive Princes owned no country, and had not even a single port that they could call their

Blake demands permission of the Portuguese King to attack Rupert.

own, and therefore had no claim to be treated as a neutral power. Blake followed up these representations by entering the river with his fleet, and anchored in the bay, whence he unceasingly pressed the King and Council for leave to fall on the revolters anchored nearly opposite him. Months were spent in these negotiations, and in that interval Popham arrived from England with the promised reinforcement. Blake now raised his demands, and resolved on creating a sensation, since it was evident that the King was now disposed to pronounce for the cause of the two Princes. The British Admiral accordingly executed an act of vigour worthy of his nation. 1650.

He had for some time suspected that the negotiations had been prolonged to cover the departure of the Brazil Fleet, then fitting out in the Tagus for their summer voyage. This fleet, consisting of nine sail, then coming out of the river to commence their voyage, Blake seized the whole of it without ceremony, removed the crews out of the ships, supplied their places with his own people, and thus at a stroke raised the effective strength of his fleet from thirteen to twenty-two sail. The King was astounded at the temerity of this act, and gave orders to arm his coasts and fit out his fleet. But "the spirits of the vasty deep" were not quite within "call." A squadron of thirteen men-of-war was all that could be mustered to join the force of Prince Rupert, and even this fleet hesitated to attack the English, who continued to cruise before the river, threatening to add to their aggression the interceptance of the richly-freighted "Plate" Fleet, now known to be coming home from the Brazils. It was believed impossible for the English fleet to remain all the autumn on a coast that was both bleak and hostile; but in spite of the elements Blake remained in the Portuguese waters until the expected fleet arrived, when, after a brief but fierce engagement, in which the Portuguese flag-ship went down, seventeen of the fleet were captured and three burned. It

Blake seizes the Brazil Fleet.

The Portuguese hesitate to attack Blake, who captures the "Plate" Fleet.

1650. was to no purpose that the King of Portugal, alarmed at so unexpected a destruction, ordered Prince Rupert to carry down the combined fleet against the intruder. The Prince was ready enough for any act of daring and valour, but Vāra John, the Portuguese commander, either would not or could not obey his signals for several hours, by which time Blake's fleet was too far to leeward for them to give chase, and the Parliament Admiral, with colours flying at the main-top, continued his course, and carried his prizes to England without further molestation, which done, he speedily returned to block up the mouth of the Tagus still more closely.

Blake concludes a peace with the Portuguese King.

The loss of so many vessels, and the increasing outcries of his subjects, induced King John to mitigate his anger, and to propose overtures of peace. The owners of the nine ships seized and detained by Blake were allowed to send home a statement of their grievances, that the Admiral's conduct in the matter might be minutely investigated; but after a full inquiry, it was decided by the Council of State that the General at Sea had acted in the spirit of his instructions. Some compensation was nevertheless awarded to the owners for the forcible detention of their ships: but the Council of State added to this relaxation the hard condition that Portugal should herself defray a considerable portion of the war expenses already incurred.

Escape of Prince Rupert.

Under the convention Prince Rupert had no alternative but to make the best of his way out of the Tagus, and with wonderful success he escaped from it, and reached the Port of Malaga in spite of Blake. Blake was out at sea when intelligence of Rupert's escape reached him, and leaving orders to Admiral Penn to cruise about the mouth of the Guadalquiver, he passed through the Straits with his fleet, but by the time he reached Malaga Rupert had sailed no one knew whither. At length the revolted ships were traced into the port of Carthagena, whither Blake

pursued, and on his arrival sent a messenger to inform the Spanish Governor that they were enemies to the Commonwealth of England, and that he, as English Admiral, carried instructions from the Parliament to pursue and destroy them. To this he received the same answer as had been returned him from Lisbon by the Portuguese, "that they had the right to protect all ships that came into their dominions; that if the Admiral were forced in thither, he should find the same security;" and he was warned not to violate the peace of a neutral port. Disdaining the Governor's injunctions, Blake bore down on the revolters, and drove some on shore, and burned and mastered their ships, so that the whole revolted fleet was now scattered and destroyed. The two vessels on board which the Princes Rupert and Maurice themselves escaped having been saved by the intervention of the Spaniards. 1650. Blake destroys the revolted fleet at Carthagena; but the Princes escape.

Blake after this quitted Carthagena, and stood for Malaga; and Rupert stood across for Toulon, hoping to receive protection from the French, since the omnipotent Cardinal Minister Mazarin was on no terms with the Commonwealth, and was prompt enough to protect him. He was pursued by Blake. The Parliament Admiral, however, did not find it so easy to bluster the Chevalier Paul, who then commanded in the French port. Nevertheless, desirous to avoid a disagreeable crisis, the French Admiral hastened the departure of his dangerous guests, and with his assistance Rupert was so well prepared for sea, that, seizing a favourable opportunity, he escaped from the roadstead, and made for the Balearic Islands. Blake pursues Rupert to Toulon, who finally escapes to the West Indies.

Our hero was not a little displeased at the treatment he had received at Toulon, and by the protection given to the revolted fleet by the Chevalier Paul; and in February, 1651, while continuing his cruise in the Mediterranean, he made several French prizes in retaliation. One of the number was a fine frigate of 1651. Blake captures a French frigate.

1651. forty guns. With considerable audacity he signalled for the Captain to come on board, which invitation (there being no war declared between the two nations) was accepted. When the Captain came, he was asked "whether he was willing to lay down his sword, and yield," and though he saw himself in Blake's power, he gallantly refused. The Parliament Admiral, scorning to take advantage of one whose spirit he respected, answered him "that he was at liberty to go back to his ship, and defend it as long as he could." The Captain thanked him for his offer, and willingly accepted it. The fight began, and lasted two hours, when the Frenchman struck his flag, and returned on board the flag-ship, where *en preux chévalier* he surrendered up his sword to Blake.

Blake returns to England, again receives the thanks of Parliament, and is made a Warden of the Cinque Ports.

After an absence of twenty months the Admiral returned to England, where applause and substantial rewards awaited him. The Council of State made him a Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Parliament voted him a resolution of thanks and a donation, and the whole country resounded with the renown of a man who had revived the traditionary glories of the English navy, and had exercised his power with unequalled wisdom, resolution, and success. The Government had work nearer home for their successful Commander. Sir George Carteret still held possession of Jersey and Guernsey, while the Scilly Islands acknowledged the authority of Sir John Grenville. Blake, with his colleagues, was ordered to threaten St. Mary's. Grenville professed a willingness to enter into a treaty for them, but Blake, taking 800 men under Captain Morris with him, without any parley landed at the back of Tresco; and although it was garrisoned by 1000 men, he obtained a lodgement after a stout conflict, when Blake possessed himself of their works and arms, and they surrendered at discretion. Here he erected batteries to bear upon St. Mary's, but finding them to

produce little or no effect upon the distant shore, he, with great risk and daring, brought in his frigates into the intricate and dangerous channel between the islands, a feat often achieved in later naval annals, but up to that day conceived to be a bold but impossible conception. It was, indeed, a fundamental maxim in marine warfare before the time of Blake, that no ship could attack any shore fortification with any hope of success. Blake, however, was a man who, as Clarendon remarks, "declined the old track, and brought ships to contemn castles on shore which had ever been thought very formidable, but were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them." 1651.

Blake captures the Scilly Islands; and prepares to attack the Channel Islands.

A furious cannonade was forthwith opened from St. Mary's, which was fiercely answered by broadsides from the shipping, until at length a practicable breach was made in the castle wall, when Grenville beat a parley, and surrendered the islands, garrisons, stores, arms, and ammunition, on the sole condition that the lives of officers and soldiers should be spared. Blake forthwith turned his attention to the Channel Islands. Here Carteret, who commanded, was a staunch Cavalier, and regarded as an able General both by land and sea, so that a very considerable force of "independent" shipping, professedly acknowledging the royal authority, continually sought his protection. Upwards of 4000 men now thronged these islands, sea-roving adventurers who for some years past had been a terror to all seacraft, for success had rendered them most daring; so that this nest of pirates had become quite insufferable to all commerce. Nature appears to have fashioned the coasts of these islands into bays and inlets, formed by rocky, steep, and broken ramparts, which under skilful engineering had made them one vast and (it was thought) impregnable fortress. Blake was both active and judicious in the steps he took to bring this formidable stronghold to

1651. his obedience. While the expedition was yet fitting out at Plymouth, his flag-ship, the "Victory," flew about the Channel, from the islands to the main, stimulating the energy of the underlings of office, and stirring up their apathy, in order that he might with reasonable resources accomplish his object.

At length, by the middle of October, the Parliament fleet was deemed ready for action. Blake removed his flag to the "Happy Entrance," 44, Captain John Coppen, and received on board of it three regiments of foot and four troops of horse, under Colonel Haynes. On the 20th the expedition cast anchor in a precarious anchorage at St. Ouen's Bay, on the west side of Jersey. Here a terrible storm broke over it, scattering and slightly damaging many of the ships, and wholly preventing the boats from effecting a landing. Blake, impatient at this delay, ran in shore, and opened a cannonade—a childish bravado—which was responded to from many little forts and redoubts in the bay; so that after four hours' useless expenditure of powder and shot, his fleet drew off to a more sheltered position in St. Brelade's Bay, about a league distant. He now endeavoured to perplex Carteret by threatening many points of descents in St. Ouen's Bay, St. Aubin's Bay, and making demonstrations against St. Helier's and Elizabeth Castle, as well as on the opposite side of the island in Grouville Bay, and against Mont Orgueil Castle. Blake's policy was to wear out the defenders by incessant marches, alarms, and bombardments. At every moment of the day some portion of the fleet opened fire on the shore, and disturbed some encampment, or column that was seen in motion along it; so that during a long march Carteret was frequently obliged to halt and get his men under cover and his guns into position to silence the fire. The Royalists were so harassed and worn by this service after it had endured three days and two nights (during which the

Blake arrives at St. Ouen's Bay, Jersey.

He harasses Carteret by constant alarms;

rain fell without intermission), marching over bad roads and broken grounds, exposed to the interruption of this fire from the shipping, which they could neither silence nor avoid, that Carteret was under the necessity of turning inland in search of refreshment and repose. At length, however, the rain ceased, the wind fell, and the swell of the sea abated. The Admiral then thought he saw watch-fires along the shore, and could no longer restrain his ardour, but at eleven at night he ordered the soldiers into the boats, and a desperate and gallant effort was made to get them on shore. The Cavalier horse, however, fell upon them as soon as they landed; nevertheless, after a conflict of half an hour, Colonel Haynes drove them back, and maintained himself in a good position for the night. 1651. — and finally effects a landing.

Early next morning the soldiers pursued their march inland, when, to their surprise, no enemy appeared to dispute their advance. It afterwards appeared that Carteret had been unable to keep his men to further work in the field, and had accordingly resolved to limit all opposition to the defence of Mont Orgueil and Elizabeth Castles. Into this latter stronghold the chiefs of the Cavaliers, with their ladies and the clergy of the island, now withdrew at the approach of the Puritans, and Blake placed his head-quarters on shore at St. Helier's, of which town he took undisputed possession. He sent Colonel Haynes to invest Mont Orgueil by land, while he carried his frigates into St. Aubin's Bay to assail it by water; and, planting them as near the old wall as possible, he opened a tremendous fire upon the fortress. The garrison replied by a spirited cannonade, and resisted for about a fortnight, when Mont Orgueil Castle surrendered, and the land forces were then called back to St. Helier's, to make preparations for besieging Elizabeth Castle. Carteret, in the teeth of increasing disadvantages, gallantly maintained his little rock for Capture of Mont Orgueil Castle; Carteret finally surrenders, and retires to France.

1651. two entire months, nobly fulfilling his duty as a Royalist; but at length a magazine was blown up, under which eighty officers and men were destroyed, and this crowning calamity, and the utter hopelessness of being relieved, induced Sir George to hoist the white flag, and accept terms for himself and garrison to withdraw to St. Malo's, on the coast of Normandy. Thus the English Channel was cleared of the last enemy to the Commonwealth.

For this important service Blake received the special thanks of Parliament, and was elected a member of the Council of State. One of the earliest subjects to occupy Blake's mind, after the reduction of the Channel Islands, was to exercise his influence, as one of the supreme Government, over his brother Commissioners of the Navy Board, to rectify abuses and grievances of that service. Some of the measures he then introduced continue established to the present day. The custom of discharging seamen, and leaving them to find their way to London in idleness and recklessness, was changed to the practice, still prevailing, of settling with them in the port in which they are discharged, and as soon as they came on shore: also abuses of many other kinds were amended or abolished.

Blake and his colleagues first reform the abuses in the Navy.

The history of these times will relate what circumstances now combined to produce a war between the two Republics of England and the United Provinces, which it might have been thought would have been most likely, from the similarity of feeling in domestic policy, to have been disposed to amity; more particularly as an old friendship had grown up between both of these peoples. However, there is very little sentiment to be found in cousinship or brotherhoods of nations, material prosperity is the one thing needful, and the one thing sought for, especially in commercial communities. In the year 1651 an Act of the English Parliament provided "that no foreign ship should bring any goods to England, except on English bot-

The Navigation Act.

toms, or such as were of the countries from which the imported commodities came." 1651.

Now the Dutch having nothing of their own growth or manufacture that would under the provisions of this law be importable into England, they found themselves altogether debarred from their most profitable source of trade between Europe and the rest of the world, since their commerce consisted entirely of foreign produce imported in their own merchant vessels. During the inactive reign of James I., and especially during the commotions that led to the great Civil War, their trade had attained an affluence of wealth together with great naval power, and an arrogance which long-continued prosperity naturally produces, induced some insolence of conduct which the Commonwealth could not tolerate. The course of the negotiations that now ensued betrayed this feeling so ostensibly, that when an unusual armament was placed under the command of Admiral Tromp, then esteemed one of the bravest and most experienced sea-officers in Europe, Parliament took the hint as a menace, and called Blake again into service. There had existed an ancient custom demanded by England (said to have existed from Saxon times), and which had hitherto been submitted to by Holland, that the red-cross should on all occasions of the meeting of ships or fleets be saluted by every other national flag being lowered before it. It happened that Commodore Young, falling in with a Dutch fleet returning from Genoa, required this form from the admiral in command, who refused compliance, and Young poured in a broadside upon the flag-ship. A sharp action ensued, and the Dutchman was obliged to strike. War, however, was not yet declared, and ambassadors were still busy with their negotiations, when, on the 18th May, Tromp suddenly appeared in the Downs with forty sail, and anchored there. Blake happened to be cruising in the "James" off Rye, but immediately the information reached him, the

The Dutch refuse to lower their flag to the English; an action ensues, and a Dutch flag-ship is captured.

651. — Admiral collected, in a few hours, his whole force into Dover roadstead. On the appearance of the English, Tromp, without striking his flag, weighed anchor and went to sea. Blake fired a signal gun to call attention to the omission, but no answer was returned until after a second and third shot, when Tromp derisively fired a single gun, and hoisted the Dutch flag.

It was not known till afterwards that the States-General gave special instructions to their Admiral "that when he met any of the English ships of war, he should not shorten to them, nor show them any respect than what they received from them." Blake, perceiving that this point of honour was to be disputed, advanced in his flag-ship before the rest of the fleet towards the flag-ship to speak on the subject to the Admiral, when the Dutch, instead of permitting the approach of the "James," sent a broadside into her, and stopped her short. Blake was in his cabin with his officers, consulting their papers, when this bumptious salute burst upon them, smashing the glass and doing much mischief. "Well," said the English Admiral, "it is not very civil in Tromp to break my windows." But while he spoke another broadside burst from the "Brederode," and Blake, rushing on deck, ordered it to be returned. It was about four o'clock, and a succession of broadsides ensued without any line having been formed, just as ship met ship, and grappled with one another as they chanced to fall in each other's way. From the first onset, however, Blake bore the brunt of the action; more than seventy cannon-balls were already lodged in the hull of his flag-ship; her masts were struck down, and her rigging torn to rags; her Master and several of his officers had fallen dead or wounded at her side. His joint admirals, Penn and Bourne, were not with his squadron; the former, indeed, was in London, not expecting such a crisis; but Bourne, in the "St. Andrew," with some other ships,

Tromp insults Blake; an action ensues, and the Dutch are compelled to retire.

heard the sound of artillery booming along the waters, and crowded all sail to assist the Admiral and take share in the battle. As night came on the thunder of Bourne's guns was heard in rear of the enemy, and he arrived sufficiently soon to turn the scale of victory, so that about nine at night Tromp retired from the fight, leaving it at best but a drawn battle, for Blake was too disabled to follow, and was glad to come to anchor about four miles off Dungeness; nevertheless, when day dawned, it was found that two of the Dutch ships had been boarded and taken together with 250 prisoners; wonderful to relate, the English fleet, with the exception of the flag-ship, had not suffered materially, and only nine men were reported slain. It is indeed little less than miraculous that a thousand great shot should not do more execution: and those who will not admit an interposition of Providence may draw at least this inference from it, that *the bravest man is not always the sufferer in the greatest danger.* 1651.

The States were exceedingly troubled at the issue of this proceeding, and sent two ambassadors to the Parliament to protest "that the late unhappy engagement between the two Commonwealths had happened without their knowledge;" but the Parliament replied with considerable haughtiness, "that the extraordinary preparations of a large fleet without any apparent necessity, and the instructions given to their sea officers, had administered too much cause to make them believe that the United Provinces had a purpose to usurp the known right which the English have to the seas, and to destroy their fleets, which are their walls and bulwarks:" and this was followed up by a vigorous prosecution of their revenge; for Blake was commanded to sail forthwith into the North Seas, it being then the season of the year for the great fisheries of the Dutch upon the coasts of Scotland and the Orkney Islands. Here he fell upon their merchant ships with such success, that before the end of

The States send Ambassadors, but Parliament orders Blake to make reprisals.

1651. June he had sent in forty prizes. In July he met the Dutch fishery fleet under a convoy of twelve of their men-of-war. Blake attacked and captured 100 of these herring-busses, with all the fish they had made ready; all which he brought away as lawful prize.

Severe losses of the Dutch.

The Dutch were compelled to forsake the Channel altogether, or to run for safety along the French coast, landing their cargoes at these ports, and sending them at an immense cost overland. This constant success inspired the Council of State with a new enthusiasm for naval glory. At Blake's suggestion the seamen's wages were increased, and the Vice-Admirals, from Norfolk to Hampshire, were requested to engage in the State's service all mariners between the ages of fifteen and twenty, who were young, ardent, and experienced in maritime occupations. An entire fleet was soon raised, consisting of 250 sail, with 14 fire-ships, which was commanded and located along the shores of the Channel. The energetic Admiral had under his own command, off Dover, 105 vessels, carrying nearly 4000 guns, but was still deficient in men; so that his constant cry was "Seamen! Soldiers!"

The Fleet is reinforced.

Blake defeats the Dutch off the North Foreland.

On 28th September, when stationed in the Downs with sixty sail, Blake sighted a fleet under the celebrated Dutch Commanders, De Witt and De Ruyter, about equal in number; but Tromp had been compelled, by the popular clamour against him, to throw up his command. Blake advanced to the attack, and in a short time three of the enemy's ships were wholly disabled at the first brunt, and one of the Dutch Admirals was captured; another ship of war was blown up, and at night it was thought that not one of them could have escaped; but the Dutch, being obliged from the nature of their own coast and shallowness of their estuaries to build their ships of less draught than the English, took advantage of this to shelter themselves behind a flat called "The Kentish Knock," so that the English were unable to approach

them, excepting on a new tack, and, in the interval, the Hollanders forsook their shelter, and availing themselves of the wind, escaped with such speed that Blake found himself unable to follow them with the bulk of his fleet. In this way the enemy retired into Göree, and the English returned to the Downs without the loss of one ship, and no more than forty killed in all their ships. Blake was now rapidly rising into the first name of our naval history. De Witt, returning to Holland with a discomfited fleet, was discharged from its command as unfortunate, and the chief command was restored to Tromp, for whom great preparations were made for retrieving the reputation of the Republic, and for repairing their losses. 1651.

Blake was cruising in the Channel, expecting every day to fall in with some one or other of the Dutch Admirals, when he learned that the French fleet, under the Duke de Vendôme, had recently encountered and scattered a Spanish fleet under the Count d'Oignon, and was now concentrating war ships and military stores on the French coasts of the Channel, with a view of throwing relief into Dunkirk, at this time hotly pressed by the army of the Archduke Leopold. The narrow seas were at this time covered with English ships, for the protection of English trade and the suppression of piracy; so that Blake had considerable difficulty in meeting all the demands made upon his assistance for convoy. The term for which Blake had been commissioned to act as sole General and Admiral of the Fleet was near its close: accordingly he made the best winter distribution of his fleet, and submitted that two officers, General Monk and Colonel Deane, should be associated with him in the new commission. Nevertheless, when in the commencement of June, 1652, the Dutch fleet were encountered about mid-seas over between Dover and Zealand, Blake was still in command alone and had with him but forty sail, very ill provided with men and ammunition, while

Blake meets with the Dutch Fleet under Tromp.

1652. Tromp (who had, as has been noticed, been restored to the command of the Dutch fleet,) appeared with a force said to have amounted to eighty ships of war, with ten fire-ships, ready to contend with the English.

Blake forthwith called a Council of War on board the "Triumph," whereon it was resolved to fight, although at so great disadvantage. For a day or two both fleets manœuvred to obtain the weather-gage, until at three in the afternoon of the 29th November both fleets came near each other off Foulness. Tromp's patience being exhausted, he made a sudden effort to get alongside the English Admiral at an advantage. But Blake had his supporters, the "Victory" and "Vanguard," at hand, and for a long time these three men-of-war stood engaged with their opposites without very great injury till evening. Blake now heard that the "Garland," carrying forty guns, had been boarded and captured by two great ships, and that the "Bonaventure," a stout well-built merchant ship, going to relieve the "Garland," had been attacked by a Dutch man-of-war, and after a stout resistance (in which the Captain, who had defended her with the utmost bravery, had been killed), was likewise carried off by the enemy.

Battle off Foulness; and defeat of the English.

Blake with the "Triumph," seeing the "Garland" and "Bonaventure" in trouble, notwithstanding the fatigue of his men, pressed forward to relieve them; but on his way had his foremast shattered, and was himself boarded. Beating off his enemies, however, he disengaged himself, but could not save his consorts, who were captured; and the flag-ship was so riddled as to be reduced to a mere wreck, wholly unmanageable. Nevertheless, under cover of fog and darkness, the Admiral got his flag-ship safe into the Thames, and came to anchor in Lea Road, with such ships as he could collect, to repair damages. He found that, in addition to the two ships above named, he had lost four frigates, and that his whole fleet was much

shattered. Nevertheless the Dutch gained no easy victory. Their loss in men had been very great; one of their vessels had blown up, all on board perishing; and the flag-ships of both Tromp and Ruyter had with other ships been seriously crippled. However, they were triumphant, and again masters of the Channel; and it was little credit to such a hard-won victory, that with such disproportionate force, the victorious Dutchman should have had the insolence to run up a broom to his topmast, and sail triumphantly down the Channel, to signify that he could sweep the sea of every English ship; a vulgar vaunt that had no colour of truth for more than a month, and was, at best, more worthy of a skipper than an Admiral of such renown as Tromp. 1652.

Tromp sails triumphantly down the Channel with a broom at the mast-head.

In the letter which conveyed to the Government the first news of this reverse of fortune, the Admiral says, "I am bound to let your House know, that there was much baseness of spirit in many of the English ships," and in disgust he desires "a discharge from this employment as far too great for me." But instead of receiving the acceptance of this offer to resign, Blake found that the misfortune that might have ruined another man had given him greater strength and influence in the country. It was seen and acknowledged that the great, the wise, and the valiant Admiral had been betrayed to an inconsiderate and desperate enterprise by the resistless ardour of his own spirit, and by a noble jealousy for the honour of his country.

Five days after the engagement off the "Ness" it was ordered "that a letter be written to General Blake, to acquaint him with what had been done for the giving of him an addition of strength." Curiously enough, the first disaster experienced by Blake at sea gave him power to effect reforms in the service, and to root out naval abuses which had defied all his efforts in the day of his success. One great

Blake effects reforms in the Navy.

1652. — abuse was stated by himself to lie at the source of the late defeat. An Order in Council had hitherto allowed the Masters of all vessels capable of armament to place them during a war at the disposal of Government, and permitting their old officers to command them after this change of service. There was reason to suspect that some of the secret partisans of the royal family had in this way crept into the service of the Commonwealth, with the express object of betraying it; and the Admiral discovered he had thus a double enemy to struggle against, and consequently took this occasion to insist on having a regulation adopted, that in future no Captains or other officers should receive their appointments excepting by a direct commission from the State.

1653. A report now came in that Tromp contemplated a descent upon the Channel Islands, and this hastened the preparations for renewing the contest. Impatient to wipe off the disgrace which the arms of England had sustained in the late action, the Council of State exerted every endeavour to collect a respectable naval force by taking in ships from every quarter. At Blake's own recommendation Monk was sent for out of Scotland to be his colleague in command of a new fleet, and Deane, who had risen from the ranks of a common seaman to the reputation of a bold and excellent officer, was now named as Rear-Admiral. So much ready good-will and energy was evinced by all, that on the 18th February, 1653, Blake sailed out of Queenborough with sixty men-of-war, and was joined the next day by twenty more out of Portsmouth, so that he had only to seek the opportunity of revenging his defeat, and restraining the further insolence of the enemy, by coming again in the presence of Tromp at the head of eighty sail.

Blake reinforced, sails from Queenborough, Feb. 18.

There seems some doubt as to the strength of the Dutch when Tromp, surprised at the sight of such an armament, arrived off the isle of Portland.

Clarendon gives them 100 men-of-war, but their own accounts admit of no more than seventy. However, the Dutch Admiral, with a considerable fleet, was seen steering along the French coast in the vicinity of La Hogue, returning from L'Isle de Rhee, and having a great many merchant ships under convoy. The darkness of the weather prevented any clear recognition of their respective forces, until the fleets had arrived within a league of each other. Blake, in the "Triumph," had Admiral Penn in the "Speaker" and Lawson in the "Fairfax" as the supporters of the Admiral, both within hail; while Monk in the "Vanguard" was some miles astern, as well as Deane in his flag-ship. Blake, with his usual intrepidity, advanced against the Dutch Admiral, who was in the "Brederode." At first Tromp came into action with a strong breeze in his favour, when, shooting past the "Triumph," he poured a fearful broadside into her as he passed, and then, veering about, fired a second, splintering masts, tearing cordage, and strewing the deck with dead. Penn dashed in between the flag-ships in order to cover and protect Blake, and the battle became general along the entire fleet. The "Triumph" had received 700 shots in her hull, when Lawson in the "Fairfax" came up to its assistance. About mid-day Monk also arrived with the White division, and the contest was carried on on more equal terms.

1653.

Severe Battle with the Dutch under Tromp in the Channel.

Night put an end to the battle, which afforded the Dutch an opportunity of sailing away; for, though they had commenced the action with considerable advantage, they could not stand against the increased force and destructive fire of the English ships. The "Ostrich" was already abandoned by the crew. Another ship had gone down, and the officers and crew were taken prisoners. Towards dusk Blake, suspecting what might happen, detached a number of his swiftest sailers to gain the wind if possible, so as to prevent the escape of the vast fleet of traders; but

1653. — Tromp, witnessing this manœuvre, had fallen back in the flag-ship to cover the merchantmen, and this has been given as a reason for the fleets retiring; for many of his war ships, seeing the Admiral as it were escaping, hoisted all sail, and fled away as fast as they could; so that Blake remained master of the scene of action before the night closed, but his fleet was too far damaged to pursue. The Dutch lost eight men-of-war, either taken or destroyed, while four English men-of-war and several smaller ships had been boarded and captured by the enemy, although every one of these vessels had been afterwards recovered, excepting the "Sampson." The Captain of the flag-ship had fallen, and the Admiral's Secretary had been shot down by his side with more than half his crew. Blake himself had received a wound in the thigh, which lamed him for the remainder of his life.

Flight of the Dutch.

Blake wounded.

This wound, though not dangerous, demanded repose and careful treatment; but Blake, until the following dawn, had every effective hand on board the English fleet employed in restoring sails, stopping leaks, and repairing the waste of war; so that every thing was made ready to renew the contest when day broke, though a dead calm had then succeeded to the fresh breeze that had prevailed during the battle. With the dawn Tromp was seen in the midst of his traders, crowding every inch of sail that could be spread, and standing directly up Channel. Nothing could, however, be done until the third day but stand on in pursuit. On the 20th, however, about mid-day the "Triumph" came up with the main fleet when off Dungeness; and Tromp, compelled to fight against his will, ordered the merchant ships to make sail, keeping close under the French shore for protection. On both sides the battle was renewed with much fury. De Ruyter's flag-ship, becoming unmanageable, was near falling into Blake's hands, but Tromp succoured

The Battle is renewed.

him, and extricated him from his dangerous position. 1653.
The Dutch fought, as usual, with the most desperate courage, and the Admiral did his best to save his merchantmen, but the wind blowing off shore, the disorganized ships had some difficulty in keeping out of danger. Blake, however, suspecting a device of his wily adversary, to sacrifice the merchant ships to save himself, issued strict commands that every war ship in a condition to follow and fight the enemy, should press on with all sail, and leave the traders to be watched and seized by those who could not follow. The exciting chase continued till night; and in the morning Tromp was seen anchored under the French shore, about four miles from Calais. The general opinion of the pilots was that he could not now escape, and Blake therefore threw out his anchors, and set down to repair damages; nevertheless, when day again dawned, Tromp had slipped away, and had tided towards Dunkirk, whence he got safe into Dutch waters. The peculiar form of the Dutch shipping which is eminently suited to shallow water, enabled them to keep within the flats that lie along the shores of Holland, and totally prevented the English from following after them. The loss of life in the engagement was unusually heavy, and the ships on either side had been grievously battered. It is said that this was the first action in which the English had recourse to close fighting, and made use of small arms on board ship, Blake having organized a species of marine, whose fire from the tops is said to have done great execution. Seven of the Dutch Captains were slain, and three more wounded; while three English were killed, and two Admirals and almost every officer of the fleet were wounded. The prizes, after much controversy, believed to have been fifty in number, were brought safe into English ports.

Tromp escapes.

First employment of Marines.

This affair is known by the name of the "Battle of Portland," and such was the passion for superiority

1653. among the countrymen of both the combatants at the moment that an unusual excitement prevailed as well in England as in Holland. In the latter country, on the receipt of the news, there broke out great riots and insurrections in consequence of their defeat.

In London the first news of the battle was received with enthusiasm. The two nations were thought to have met on a fair field, in which the Commonwealth had gained an unequivocal victory. A day of thanksgiving was appointed. Subscriptions were opened for the widows and the wounded; and congratulations and thanks were bounteously showered on all, and no plaints or grievances were raised against anybody. The Dutchman's broom at his mast-head became of course a subject of much merriment, which, instead of sweeping the Channel of the English commerce, Tromp was now playing the part of the new broom at home. For, like his energetic self, the old seaman set to work at once to make praiseworthy efforts to equip another fleet; and when Blake, a few months later, looked in upon the Texel to see what he was about, he found about seventy men-of-war and frigates afloat and already in line, but Tromp himself was absent on convoy service round the north of Scotland to meet the fleet of Spanish and Levantine merchants, who were at the time expected. Blake therefore sailed after the Dutch Admiral, leaving his colleagues Monk and Deane with eight sail in the Downs to watch the mouth of the Thames, and to look after the privateers and merchantmen in the British seas.

Tromp sails to the North, and is pursued by Blake.

Blake was accordingly at sea, cruising with twenty ships between the Frith of Forth and Moray, when, on the 20th April, Cromwell so unceremoniously cleared the House of Commons, and assumed the lead of the State. Monk, who was considered a creature of Oliver's, and Deane, who was merely a sea captain, without a head or a care for politics, together with thirty-three captains and officers of the fleet, all with-

out consulting their Admiral, sent in their adhesion to the Protector that same afternoon; but when the matter was subsequently referred to Blake, he declared that notwithstanding the change in the Government, he and his associates would still be ready to discharge their trust, and to defend the nation from insults, injuries, and encroachments; "for," he added, "it is not the business of a seaman to mind State affairs, but to hinder foreigners from fooling us." This was a principle from which he never deviated, and which he always endeavoured to inculcate in the fleet as the surest foundation of unanimity and steadiness. "Disturb not one another," said he, "with domestic disputes, but remember that we are English, and our enemies are foreigners. Enemies! which, let what party soever prevail, it is equally the interest of our country to humble and restrain." 1653. Blake's declaration on the change of Government.

Tromp contrived by consummate seamanship to bring the fleet home that he went out to assist, and so gave our Admiral the go-by altogether; thus Blake was still in the North Sea, when, on the 2nd June, Tromp was again off the British shores with 120 ships, having Evertzen, De Ruyter, and De Witt under him, but with his ships manned and brought together in haste. Deane and Monk had under the Red flag thirty-eight sail, and Lawson with the White division numbered thirty-three sail. Couriers were immediately sent off to notify the arrival of the Dutch fleet to Blake, who spread all sail, and impetuously moved down the North Coast before a full breeze to share in the glory that he was sure awaited his countrymen in the coming conflict. Tromp appears again in great force; Blake sails to the South.

It was noon on the 3rd when the fight began. Lawson dashed into the enemy's line with a view of separating De Ruyter with his squadron from the Dutch fleet, which he had nearly effected, when Tromp bore down to his colleague's assistance. It was soon after the commencement of the engagement that a broadside Severe Battle with the Dutch Fleet.

1653. sweeping the deck of the "Resolution," killed the General of the Fleet, Deane; yet the conflict continued until darkness put an end to the first day's engagement, which continued very sharp till six in the evening. All that night, while the hostile fleets, at gun-shot distance, were repairing the havoc of the day, Blake was expected to arrive at the scene of action, so that when the summer morning dawned, every one on board the English ships strained their eyes and watched for the signals of the "Sea King," but no trace of his coming could yet be distinguished. Tromp appears to have been unaware that he was even expected to arrive, for he spent the first hours in the morning in a series of skilful movements to recover the weather-gage, until about noon on the 4th, when the hostile squadron boomed with its terrible artillery on the Dutchman's ears. Blake broke right through the Dutch line, and was received with tremendous cheers from every ship of the English fleet as he successively passed on, carrying unquestioned proofs of the great Commander's arrival on the scene of action. Tromp fought with all his accustomed energy, and stung with the cries of the English and the reproaches of his own Admiral, the crew of the "Brederode" ran alongside the "James," Vice-Admiral Penn, and boarded her, but were repulsed, and following back the boarders to the Dutch flag-ship, the English got possession of its quarter-deck. The bold but somewhat rash old Admiral, resolving not to be forced to strike to his adversary, is believed to have thrown a light himself into the magazine, for a partial explosion blew up his deck, shivering the planks into many pieces, and scorching and mutilating many men. But by a miracle Tromp escaped unhurt, although De Ruyter and De Witt, witnessing the incident, pushed up to the flag-ship, and rescued the old Commander by removing him on board a fast-sailing frigate, which, running through his fleet,

Arrival of Blake.

Defeat and narrow escape of Tromp.

assured the sailors of the safety of their famous Admiral. The day was, however, irrecoverably lost, and the flight soon became general under the influence of a fresh gale. The English ships availed themselves of the same breeze to press hotly on the rear of the enemy, and the Dutch fleet with difficulty attained safety in Weilingen. 1653.

However much the Dutch endeavoured to extenuate their loss in this battle, they left behind them eleven of their ships which were taken, while six were sunk, and the account of all impartial historians, and the remonstrances and exclamations of their own officers, prove the fact. The number of prisoners sent in by the English Admirals numbered 1350, including six Captains. In the assembly of the States, De Witt, with the natural warmth and sincerity of his character, boldly spoke the truth without reserve: "Why should I keep silence any more? I am here before my sovereigns. I am free to speak, and I must say that the English are at present masters both of us and the seas." Tromp described his flag-ship as in such a condition that it leaked, in spite of the pumps, to an extent that gained above five feet in height, and De Ruyter declared boldly that he would not again go to sea with such a fleet as they then possessed. But though Blake kept the sea, it was with considerable risk, for the English fleet was scarcely in any better condition than their opponents. The Admiral sent back to England, with the prizes, such ships of his own as were unable to remain afloat; while he himself, with the other portion of his fleet, clung to the Dutch waters, capturing such ships as dared to show themselves, and keeping the entire commerce of Holland in a state of perpetual alarm and consternation. Under these circumstances the States began to think more seriously of peace, and an agent was put on English shore, under the white flag, to prepare the way for two fresh ambassadors who were to follow, Great losses of the Dutch.

1654. — fully empowered to arrange the preliminaries of a treaty.

But the wound that Blake had received, although he said little about it, and paid no attention to it while he kept afloat, had already affected his health to such a degree that he was at length obliged to quit his command, and leave his associates, Monk, Penn, and Lawson, to carry out and complete his plan for the final reduction of Holland. But about the middle of April, 1654, the Protector made a peace with the States-General. But this peace was not effected before another glorious maritime success had been obtained, on 29th July, under which the renowned old Admiral Tromp received his death-wound. Although Blake lay at that time sick at his country house of Knoll, which he had purchased, two miles from Bridgewater.

Peace with the States-General, April, 1654.

Death of Tromp.

During the slow period of the Admiral's recovery, he continued in constant communication with his former associates the "Sea Generals," and with the Navy Commissioners, in which he had been included by Cromwell in December, 1653, tending and improving the service. The Protector having called a new Parliament on the 3rd September, 1654, Blake was again elected a member for Bridgewater, and took his seat in the House in the October following. His presence was marked by the Speaker Lenthal, who again, for the short period of their deliberations, presided over that assembly, and now publicly returned the Admiral the thanks of the nation for his late splendid services.

Blake again elected for Bridgewater.

In November he was ordered to raise his flag on board the "Swiftsure," and proceed to the Mediterranean with a powerful fleet, in which Penn served under him as Vice-Admiral. When he went on board he received secret instructions, which on being opened directed him to proceed off Brest harbour, and there to prevent all ingress or egress until satisfaction could be obtained for some injuries done to English commerce.

Blake sent to the Mediterranean, November, 1654.

Having soon settled this matter, he proceeded to Cadiz Road, where he arrived in December. The secret aim of Cromwell in sending out a fleet with considerable mystery was to deal a blow at the power of Spain, partly instigated to this, as it was thought, by Cardinal Mazarin. The presence, however, of Blake in Spanish waters was hailed with all the respect due to his great name and deeds, and without any misgiving as to the object of his presence. The Dutch Admiral in the port, however, would not so much as show any colours at all during the time that the English fleet remained in harbour, so thoroughly had he awe of the English Commander. Indeed, one of Blake's fleet, having become separated from the Admiral in a storm, encountered a French squadron of seven ships on its way to Toulon; but on hearing that the little craft was English, the French officer in command summoned the captain on board, and invited him to drink to Blake's health in a cup of Burgundy, when he saluted the toast with five guns,—such was the renown of Blake's name at this juncture wheresoever he went. As he proceeded through the Straits, some Algerine cruisers, having some English captives on board, brought them to his flag-ship as presents to his superiority, to appease his apprehended wrath. It was said that even the terrified Pope gave orders that the sacred Host should be exposed and carried in solemn procession to avert the calamity threatened to the dominions of the Church by Blake's presence in the Papal waters, whither he now went in pursuit of the fleet of the Duke de Guise. On arriving at Leghorn, he came up with fourteen sail of the fleet he was pursuing, and sent on shore an officer to desire instant redress for some vessels that had been taken from the coast by the Princes Rupert and Maurice. The Duke remonstrated, but the Sea General was urgent and inflexible in his demand, and would submit to neither refusal nor abatement until he

1654.

Effects of Blake's renown.

Blake demands and obtains redress at Leghorn.

1654. ultimately received 20,000 pistoles from the public treasury. Sickness and foul weather, as well as these negotiations, detained the fleet near Leghorn until, untowardly, a captured prize communicated plague to the ships' crews, and the Admiral himself was struck down by this terrible, and at this period new and fearful disease, so that for several weeks he was unable to write or even dictate a letter, and the winter was consumed with these and other casualties.

The plague breaks out in his fleet.

1655. The first day of good spring weather the fleet quitted Leghorn, and on the 8th February anchored in the road of Goletta. The Sallee rovers had continued their depredations on commerce, plundering English vessels, and carrying English crews into the interior as slaves. War was the charter of these Moslems, and its spoils their revenue. The Dey of Tunis had formed a temporary camp of several thousand horse and foot, and had drawn up his heavy ships on shore, under the guns of his great castles of Goletta and Porto Ferino, to protect them in their piracies.

Blake sails to Tunis.

Wisely considering that wherever these freebooters appeared in unusual force, it would be for the honour and interest of England to assert her superiority, the Admiral sent an officer on shore with a letter to the Dey, detailing some recent seizures of English ships, the names and cargoes of which were duly specified. He demanded, in the name of the Commonwealth of England, their restitution, together with the release of all English captives. The Dey, professing the utmost readiness for peace, refused to surrender any thing to these demands, and Blake, after making a close inspection of the coast, and its power of defence, doubted the sufficiency of his own naval power to enforce them. He accordingly withdrew his fleet to Cagliari, in the island of Sardinia, to refit and provision. This necessity delayed operations until the 8th March, 1655,

Demands of the Dey the release of the English captives; but retires to Cagliari.

when the fleet again found itself under the guns of Porto Ferino. An English officer was now sent in to reopen negotiations, and to insist upon the former demands; but the barbarian, now puffed up with an exaggerated sense of his power, returned a haughty and insolent answer. The Dey replied in these terms, "You see our castles of Goletta and Porto Ferino, upon which you may do your worst." Fired with this insult, Blake twirled his whiskers (as his custom was when he was angry), and resolved to make his enemy rue it. "For the honour of his fleet, his nation, and religion," as he afterwards reported to Secretary Thurloe. Calling a Council of War, he resolved to fire all the shipping in Porto Ferino. It was already late in the afternoon of April 3rd, but on the following morning, without the noise of a gun, the whole of the British fleet silently sailed into the harbour before a light gale, and, to the astonishment of the barbarians, proceeded even to drop anchor within musket-range of the great batteries.

1655. —

Insolent answer of the Dey to a second demand.

The boldness of the movement awed the stout hearts of the Corsairs for a few seconds, until, at length, a gun here and there flashed from their embrasures. In an instant the English broadsides opened, and now discharged their shot so fast upon the batteries and shipping, that in two hours the guns on the rampart were every where dismounted and silenced. The wind, which carried forward the English ships, blew volumes of smoke upon the shore, which prevented the batteries from taking any effectual aim: but when a sight could be obtained, the works were seen by the assailants to be quite forsaken of their men, although they were mounted with sixty cannon. Blake therefore lowered his boats, well manned, to seize all the shipping, while the men-of-war still continued to bombard; and this was so gallantly executed, that, with the loss of only twenty-five men killed and forty-eight wounded, all the ships in this

1655. principal naval strength of the Moslem were burnt in sight of Tunis. The batteries on shore were every where most seriously damaged, and even the walls of Goletta and Porto Ferino were much shaken, several breaches having been made in them; but, having now happily accomplished the destruction of the fleet, it did not enter into the Admiral's design to seek to carry the place by assault. His bold action, which its very temerity, perhaps, rendered safe and successful, was attended with little loss, and filled the shores of the Mediterranean with the renown of English valour.

Destruction of the Dey's fleet.

Blake concludes a treaty with the Dey of Tripoli; sails to Venice.

The pirate chief had been read a sufficiently severe lesson, and accordingly Blake sailed away for Tripoli, where the Dey, warned by the fate of Tunis, received him with dutiful respect, and he concluded a treaty with that nation. The Turks were at war at this time with the Venetian Republic, and it is not surprising, therefore, that when the English squadron reached Venice, it was received there with the highest honours. The Admiral's late actions had created such an influence, that the Doge and his Council lost no time in cementing a friendship with the great Western Commonwealth.

Concludes peace with the Deys of Tunis and Algiers.

On returning towards the Straits, Blake again called at Tunis, and inquired, "Is it peace?" which question was immediately answered by the display of the white flag on the castle of Porto Ferino. There only remained Algiers to visit; but the blow struck at Tunis had cowed the Corsairs from Tripoli to Morocco, and, when the fleet stood into the bay of Algiers, the Dey received Blake's messengers with great civility, and to secure his good-will sent out a present of live cattle, which at once rendered him popular with the ill-fed crews of the shipping. Before the end of the month Blake brought his extraordinary cruise to an end. He had redressed with a high hand the grievances of many years, and had chastised the pirates as they had never been chastised in all history. The

commerce of Britain had no further apprehensions of injustice, oppression, or interruption from any of the petty powers bordering on the Mediterranean. The Pope had also heard the thunder of the English artillery, which had hinted to the conclave of the Vatican that Britain was not to be played with, and it also startled the Council Chambers of Venice and Constantinople; so that embassies were speedily sent by all to cultivate the friendship of the Protector. The Admiral was not unmindful of the rewards justly due by the custom of war to the crews of the fleet for their valour, and Blake sent home no less than sixteen ships laden with treasure, which he had obtained in satisfaction for grievances, or taken by force from the enemies of the Commonwealth, all which he insisted should be generously divided amongst the crews. 1655.

The Protector, having now declared war in terms against Spain, despatched Blake with a fleet of twenty-five men-of-war to the Mediterranean to watch the coasts of Spain, to infest their commerce, and intercept their shipping. He raised his flag on board the "Naseby" on the 15th March, 1656, and never once slacked sail until he was again off Cadiz. The inhabitants were not at all pleased at the sight of him, as they knew that the British fleet was too strong to be removed, and while it remained on the station the Silver Fleet could not arrive, and the usual trade of the merchants would be jeopardied. In the first week of June, however, Blake received information that the British resident, Mr. Meadows, had been waylaid and pistoled in the streets of Lisbon. Leaving, therefore, a few frigates to watch Cadiz, the fleet weighed for the Tagus. Mr. Meadows had recovered from the assault, and on hearing of Blake's approach, he was sent for by the King, and every promise given that satisfaction should be assured to the sea-generals, if they would not molest the Portuguese ships or commerce. Singularly enough the old 1656. Blake sails to Cadiz. Sails to Lisbon, and demands redress for the assault on Mr. Meadows.

1656. priestly dread of the Bible was already among the grievances that were to be settled, and in the treaty that ensued, full liberty of conscience was conceded to Englishmen who resided in the country.

Cromwell, harassed for funds, was anxious to strike some tremendous blow against the enemy that might terminate the war with Spain advantageously, and therefore sent out an officer with a set of propositions, "rather as queries than as resolutions," for attacking Cadiz, or carrying the town and castle of Gibraltar. When, however, more exact accounts were obtained on the spot, it was found that the Duke of Medina had an army of 40,000 men in the Isla, and that an attack on Gibraltar was impracticable for many reasons. While, however, these inquiries were making, the fleet was exposed to a most violent storm, under which the "Naseby" had a narrow escape of wreck, and so much damage was incurred to the shipping that it was necessary to send back six of the English ships home to England. Blake, however, remained on the station, and the Spanish fleet remained in port, but no Silver Fleet appeared. Thus the months of July and August passed away in an inglorious blockade, and victuals of every kind ran short. To obtain supplies, even of bread and water, it was necessary to seek supplies from the ports of Portugal; so that leaving Captain Stayner in the "Speaker," with a squadron of seven ships, to watch the roads of Cadiz, Blake now sailed northward.

Stayner destroys the Silver Fleet.

While thus absent on the 8th September, Stayner had the good fortune to encounter a division of the expected Silver Fleet, which consisted of some magnificent Spanish galleons, and two Indian merchantmen laden with cargoes of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones, hides, indigo, sugar, cochineal, tobacco, &c. The Viceroy of Lima and his family, a general, an admiral, and many officials and others had also taken their passage on board this fleet.

In the fight that ensued these were unfortunately drowned in the Vice-Admiral's ship, for out of the eight vessels two only escaped capture or destruction. 1656. —

When lying at the mouth of the harbour of Cadiz, Blake received intelligence that the Spanish Plate Fleet lay at anchor in the bay of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe. Accordingly he sailed away in search of it, and on the 20th April, 1657, arrived at the island, and found in the bay sixteen Spanish vessels. The bay was defended by a castle well-mounted with cannon, and with seven forts, all armed with guns, and united together by breastworks lined by musketeers. The Spanish Admiral drew up his galleons in the form of a half-moon, with their broadsides to the sea in the most advantageous and commanding position; but the disposition was of little effect against the English commander, who determined at once to hazard an attack. General Diego Diaguez, the Governor, was duly summoned, who returned a short but courteous refusal. It happened, however, that a Dutch merchant ship lay at the time in the harbour, the Captain of which shrewdly discovering what was the probable state of affairs, desired to depart before hostilities commenced; when the Don replied, "Get you gone, if you please, and tell Blake he may come if he dare." 1657. Blake sails after the Plate Fleet to Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe.

This message having been duly communicated to the English Admiral, he forthwith reconnoitred the harbour, and having ascertained the true position of the galleons, and the disposition of the ports and batteries to protect them, he called a council of war, that he might explain his intentions, and the impossibility he apprehended of bringing away the galleons; but he put it to his captains whether they would share in his resolution to attempt their destruction, without caring for their individual loss by the sacrifice of their prizes. He meditated a daring and hazardous step, but it is not the characteristic of an English sailor to place pelf before enterprise, and one Resolves to attack the galleons in the harbour.

1657. — and all the officers cordially responded to their Admiral. The wind blowing full into the harbour at the moment seconded the courageous resolve, and every one was eager to begin the work. Blake ordered the "Speaker" frigate, Captain Stayner, to lead in with a portion of the fleet and silence the protecting batteries, while the Admiral himself attacked the galleons. Gallantly indifferent to the fortifications, which exhausted their shot prodigally on the leading frigates, the ships poured in their broadsides with such effect as to hinder the guns of the castle and lesser breastworks from impeding Blake, who bravely contended with the galleons, all of which were at length abandoned by the Spanish crews about two in the afternoon, after four hours of hard fighting and a brave resistance.

The wind that had brought in the fleet rendered it impossible, as the Admiral had foreseen, to carry them out of harbour, so that the entire galleon fleet was set on fire, and reduced to ashes with all their treasure. But the difficulty yet remained how was the victorious fleet itself to get out in the teeth of the wind still setting in strong upon the entrance to the harbour. Most fortunately, however, whether owing to the influence of gunpowder, or the prodigious heat of the fire, or both, the wind so far abated as to enable the shipping to tack safe out, leaving the Spaniards in utter astonishment at the fortunate temerity of their audacious invaders, whose loss in this severe and hazardous service was but forty-eight killed and 110 wounded.

Destruction of the Plate Fleet. The Protector and Parliament appoint a General Thanksgiving.

"Thus was the whole Plate Fleet destroyed; which was an incalculable loss to the Spaniards, although the English gained nothing but glory." As soon as the news reached England, the Protector caused the Parliament then sitting to appoint a day for a General Thanksgiving for the success, and a ring of 500*l.* value was sent to Blake, and a present of 100*l.* given to the Captain that brought the news. Dr. Johnson wisely remarks, in reference to Blake's wonderful

success, and its influence on the world, "He that increases the military reputation of a people does really increase its power, and he that weakens the enemy does in effect strengthen himself." "The whole action," says Clarendon, "was so incredible, that all men who knew the place wondered that any sober man, with what courage soever endowed, would ever have undertaken it. The Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief that they must have been devils, and not men, who had destroyed them in such a manner." 1657.

Anecdote of Blake's spirit and justice.

Bishop Burnet relates an anecdote of our Admiral at this time, that shows what an able and thorough disciplinarian he was, in his most anxious command, and how wisely he could conduct himself in his peaceable relations with the foreigners. He had always especially required his crews to treat strangers in their customary prejudices with proper respect. "A party of sailors from his fleet, in rambling about the town of Malaga, suddenly came upon a procession of priests carrying the host through the streets of the town to one who was sick. With a puritanical spirit, they not only refused to imitate the devout attention always evinced by the Spaniards on these religious occasions by falling on their knees, but they stood up and laughed and derided those who did so. The people, instigated by their exasperated clergy, resented this indignity. A street fight ensued, and with the advantage of numbers against them, the sailors were driven out of the town, and forced to fly for refuge to their boats. When they got on board, they complained of the treatment they had met with to the Admiral, who sent a trumpet into the town to demand that the priest who had set the people on should be given up to justice: The Viceroy replied that, "having no authority over the priests, he could not send him," to which Blake sent in for answer, "that if the priest was not sent on board his flag-ship within three hours he would burn the town." The Viceroy then sent the priest, who,

1657. coming on board the "St. George," pleaded the provocation given by the seamen. Blake admitted the excuse, and answered that if he had made the complaint to him, he would have had the men punished severely, for he would never allow any affront against the established religion of any place; but," he added, "that he could never permit that an Englishman should be punished by any one but an Englishman."

Cromwell's high approval of Blake.

This trait being carried to Cromwell, he was so much pleased, that he read the account to his Council, and added, "That he hoped to make the name of an Englishman as great in the world as ever that of a Roman had been."

Early in June the fleet again anchored in the roads of Cadiz, when it received a most hospitable reception, notwithstanding its late actions against the Spaniards in their colonies. It is remarkable what sudden and contrary results success effects among us. The blood horse, who would not have a bid before the race, is cheered vociferously after he has won a cup of little value against the most miserable competition; and Napoleon at Marengo, who would have been hooted at two o'clock in the day, was a certain Emperor two hours later.

The Admiral now received instructions from home to send back part of the fleet in order to reduce the heavy expenses of the war, and after a short stay he removed to Lisbon. For nearly a year Blake had never quitted ship-board, and want of exercise and bad food had already aggravated the scurvy in his constitution, which he had caught a year before, and which now completely undermined it, so that it was ordered that he should himself carry home the squadron to repair. But there was no rest for him even at home. His retirement from the service even for a time was already deemed extremely detrimental to the country. The Council had no one to take his place. Deane, Penn, Lawson, Ayscue, his most

Blake from ill health resolves to return to England.

eminent contemporaries, were either dead or unwilling to serve. Moreover, Blake was become indispensable to the State, for his very name was worth a squadron, and the noble hero, however anxious for some repose of mind or body, would not decline the responsibilities of his post; although the state of his health warned him that he could not carry on the supreme command alone, so that he requested that another sea-general might be associated with him, and Montagu was named to the post. 1657.

His illness increases.

But the hero's health was now failing fast. Excitement, bad food, the fester of a still unhealed wound, the wreck and waste of a service unexampled in activity and mental and bodily energy, had done their work on his vigorous constitution. Symptoms of dropsy had for some time appeared, and his spirits had begun to decline. The Admiral was himself convinced that he was only going home to die. The most kind letter of congratulation from the Protector, dated the 20th April, conveyed the thanks of Parliament, with a jewelled ring sent him by a vote of the House, all which reached him while thinking of home, and caused in him a profound but sad emotion. When he put in for fresh water at Cascaes Bay he found bodily weakness increasing upon him, and as he rolled through the tempestuous waters of the Bay of Biscay he grew worse and worse. Like the noble Collingwood in our own days, after having worn himself out in his country's service abroad, he longed to get back, and get one parting glimpse of his native country. He inquired often and anxiously if the white cliffs of Albion were yet in sight. At length the Lizard was announced. Shortly afterwards the bold cliffs and bare hills of Cornwall loomed out in the distance, and the undulating hills of Devonshire came full in view. All these facts were successively communicated to the Admiral in his cabin. But Blake was fast dying, beyond all doubt. As the "St. George," foremost of the vic-

Receives the Protector's letter, and the thanks of Parliament.

1657. torious squadron, rode with its precious burden into the Sound, it came within view of eager thousands crowding the beach, the pier-heads of Plymouth, and the walls of the citadel, all eager and anxious to catch a glimpse of their victorious hero, and salute him with a true Devonshire welcome; but it pleased the great Disposer of events to rule that he should never land on his native shore again. At this very time he lay in his silent cabin, while his sobbing, yet lion-hearted comrades thronged the companion-ladder, to catch the proof of his breathing, but before the anchor dropped on his native soil he was dead. He had yielded up his soul to God a true and sincere patriot and Christian. He expired on the 17th August, 1657, at the age of fifty-eight.

Blake dies in Plymouth Sound.

The Protector received the news of Blake's death with very great concern, and as Clarendon somewhat viciously remarks, "to encourage his officers to venture their lives that they might be pompously buried," he determined that the body should be interred with all the solemnity possible, and at the charge of the public, in Henry the Seventh's chapel, among the monuments of the Kings. The body was accordingly skilfully embalmed, and the bowels having been taken out and placed in an urn, were buried in the great church in Plymouth. The body was carried by sea to Greenwich, where it lay in state for several days; and on the 4th September moved to Westminster, where "he was left alone in his glory." But it is with the real and sincere regret entertained by every historian that has recorded the fact, that it has to be here stated that one "so famed for his bravery, so spotless in his integrity;" one who had carried himself "so wisely and so well" in the midst of the nation's exciting anger; who had disapproved the King's trial, who had barely tolerated Cromwell's usurpation, although he maintained the reserve which is permitted in troublous times to those who serve the State, was not allowed to rest for ever and in peace in his honoured

His remains are buried in Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

grave. Blake's embalmed body was dug up after the Restoration, and cast into a pit in the Abbey-yard of Westminster! This was a mean revenge, inhuman and ungrateful. Johnson remarks, with an oriental proverb, "Let no man pull a dead lion by the beard." But how is it that "the dead lion" yet remains in our history without a stone or a brass to record that it ever had existence? Great Britain is not wont to neglect her great naval heroes, to whom she is most indebted for her greatness; and here lies one, who did as much for the annals of the English name in the world as any one that adorns its renown, and yet he is nevertheless scarcely known to her school-boys. In the Great Exhibition of National Portraits of 1866, there were but three insignificant pictures of Blake, two without any artist's name, and one by a perfectly unknown limner of the name of Hanneman; while of the yet more celebrated naval hero, Sir Francis Drake, there was but one anonymous performance in that national collection. Surely we are in England too little mindful of these omissions and neglects, and in this respect our enemies are wiser.

1657. — Disgraceful removal of his body after the Restoration.

"But that regard which was denied his body has been paid to his better remains—to his name and his memory: nor has any writer denied him the praise of intrepidity, honesty, contempt of wealth, and love of country." As he made use of no mean artifices to raise himself to the highest command at sea, so he needed no interest but his merit and his exalted services to support him in it. He scorned the mere acquisition of money, which he disinterestedly laid out as fast as it came in in the service of the State; and though no man had more opportunities of acquisition than he had, who had captured so many millions from the enemies of England, yet he threw it all into the public treasury, and did not die 500*l.* richer than his father left him. The spirit of Blake was in every thing superior to mere private views, for it is related

His character.

1657. of him that when his own brother, in his last action with the Spaniards, had failed to perform his duty, he removed him from his ship, to which he appointed another officer in his room. Yet he was not less regardful of him as a brother, for when he died, he left him his estate, knowing him well qualified to adorn and enjoy a private fortune, though he had found him unfit to serve his country in a public character, and had therefore not suffered him to rob it[1].

He was in person a man of mean stature, but with a quick and lively eye, and a melancholic and sullen nature. Yet he never appears to have had a personal foe, and perhaps no one has ever played so conspicuous a part in the drama of life, who was followed by less envy, hatred, and other uncharitableness than Robert Blake. The bitterest enemies of his political creed have ever spoken of what they deemed his errors more in sorrow than in anger, and he was only most dreaded by men who were his avowed enemies, and whom he employed no disguise to regard as such from their characters and conduct. He was pious without affectation, a strong religionist according to the pretended purity of these times, yet one who would share in the fun of the quarter-deck at times of relaxation and joy, to which he always contributed; while his generosity and tenderness to the seamen in their sickness and troubles deeply endeared him to every one of them. Indeed he forms one of the most perfect characters of his age, and one the least stained with the errors and violences that were then so unhappily predominant. The pompous funeral given his remains by the nation was a less honourable panegyric to his memory than the tears of his countrymen when he died, and the unsullied reputation that still attaches to his name[2].

[1] Dr. Johnson.

[2] Clarendon, Hume, Rapin, Dr. Johnson, Hepworth Dixon, Heath's Chronicles, Lediard's Naval History of England, and Bi ° graphics passim.

MARTIN TROMP.

A DUTCH ADMIRAL.

Born 1597. Died 1653.

CLARENDON says, "*Van Trump*, in respect of his maritime experience, and the frequent actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckoned among the most eminent commanders at sea of that age; and his country is further indebted to his memory than they have yet acknowledged." To what circumstances the noble historian refers in this remark I am not aware; but I have to lament that the great deeds of Tromp are almost solely enshrined in his "land's language," which is a sealed book, unhappily, to the general student. The name of *Van Trump*, by which this distinguished naval hero is popularly known to English readers, is altogether an error. He is always styled Tromp in Dutch history, and never had a pretension to any aristocratic characteristic; although he

1598. — His birth.

1597. — received from Louis XIII. of France in 1638 a coat of arms for his services before Dunkirk in 1637, and a grant of supporters to his coat of arms from Charles I. of England in 1642, which appears to justify the distinction to his son Cornelis, who has also adorned his country's maritime annals by equal merit to his great father, and who may therefore be distinguished as Van Tromp.

Death of his father in action. Young Tromp is taken prisoner by the English.

Martin Tromp was born at the Brille in 1597. His father, Harpertz Tromp, was also a sailor, and commanded a frigate under Admiral Heemskirk in 1617, when he was killed in an action with an English privateer. The son, at the age of eleven years, was serving at the time when his father was struck down by a cannon-shot at his side, and was taken prisoner, and held "in durance vile" for two years and a half either by the English or the free-booter. His captor made him serve as a cabin-boy, and this disgusted him so much with the business and with the company to whom he was apprenticed, that the lad made his escape and got back to Holland, where he took service as common sailor, quarter-master, or pilot, as he could, until he had the misfortune to be again taken prisoner in the service of the Republic and carried into Algiers. Some years later, and it is thought on the recommendation of the Bey, he obtained from Maurice of Orange the command of a frigate. In 1629 he was made Second Captain, under Admiral Peter Hein, of the "Green Dragon," a vessel regarded as the first ship of war at that time in the Dutch navy. He is said to have drawn from his Admiral the remark, "I have known many good officers who have commanded ships under me, but no one so thoroughly well to be trusted as Tromp." Unfortunately his patron was killed in action, and it was expected that with such a character as he had earned our hero might succeed to the rank of Lieutenant-Admiral; but he was passed over by

some one of superior interest, and thinking himself injured, Tromp resigned his commission. However, in 1637, on the death of Admiral Dorp, the Stadtholder Frederick named him to this rank, and gave him a command of eleven ships, with which he went to sea, and defeated a Spanish fleet of ten ships of war and four frigates off the coast of Flanders, in 1637. He acted very craftily in this affair, having lain in wait for his opportunity, and came upon the enemy so suddenly that he captured two ships of war and four frigates, and threw the rest of the fleet upon the shallows, where many were wrecked, while the Spanish Admiral in command was killed in the encounter. For this action the States conferred on Tromp a chain of gold, and the King of France added to his arms the collar of St. Michael, in honour of this meritorious success.

1637. — Is made Admiral, and defeats the Spaniards.

In 1639, to revenge the defeat, the King of Spain sent a fleet of sixty-seven vessels, under Oquendo, to insult the Dutch waters. Tromp was accordingly placed in command of a fleet of seventeen sail of the line with fifty smaller craft, and, as before, awaited a favourable opportunity for making his attack from behind the Texel. He obtained information that the Spanish fleet had 4000 soldiers aboard, and therefore he concluded that the object was to throw them into Dunkirk. On the 21st of October he sighted the Spanish fleet off the Straits of Dover, when, unmindful of his inferior force, he got to windward of them until he could obtain some assistance from home, and, having received a reinforcement, he attacked so successfully, that, after a sharp fight which lasted some hours, he captured one galleon, sank another, and scattered the remainder, who fled for shelter into the Downs. Tromp, uncertain how to act, went in his flag-ship to receive instructions of his government, and to obtain some supplies of powder and shot, and after three weeks returned and found the Spanish fleet where he had

1639. Tromp again defeats the Spanish fleet.

1639. left them. An English fleet of thirty-four ships of war, under Admiral Sir John Pennington, also lay in the Downs at this time, and Tromp was apprised that he had the orders of his government to act in aid of whichever fleet should be first attacked. By some accidental encounter, however, a Dutch seaman was killed by a shot fired from a Spanish ship, and Tromp represented the provocation to the English Admiral, and, without further parley, he formed up his fleet, now consisting of 100 sail, in six divisions, and bore down upon Oquendo's fleet as they lay at anchor. This masterly movement, and the vigour of the attack, induced the Spaniards at once to cut their cables. They consisted of fifty-three vessels, of which twenty-three were driven on shore there, three were stranded, and three burned—one, a great galleon, mounted with fifty-two brass guns, on board of which was Antonio de Castro, Vice-Admiral of Galicia. The remainder of the ships on shore were taken possession of by the English to save them for the Dutch; but thirty ships, with Oquendo the Commander-in-Chief, and Lopez, Admiral of Portugal, got to sea. Tromp followed after them, till, a thick fog arising, they tried to escape; but the Dutch contrived to interpose their fleet into the midst of that of the enemy, and after fighting valiantly, the flag-ship of Lopez burst into flames. On this Oquendo ordered such vessels as could escape to run before the wind, while he himself and ten ships got into Dunkirk.

He attacks the Spanish fleet in the Downs, and gains a complete victory.

The English had witnessed this action from its very commencement, and had seen the Dutch Admiral disperse the formidable armament of the Spaniards. It had been the practice of England to fight promiscuously, ship by ship, without studying in the least any scientific evolutions. All were eager to join at once, to lock deck to deck, yard-arm to yard-arm, and the affair was settled on the principles of school-boys in their fisty-cuffs. In this way the

Naval tactics adopted for the first time in the English Navy.

Spanish Armada had been encountered and conquered in 1588. Sailors, who are of the class of men who turn to account by observation the tactics of an enemy, now beheld for the first time, instead of a multiplied action of single ships, to which their experience had been hitherto confined, a combined action of divisions of ships bearing down simultaneously on the Spanish line, and remarked the efficiency of this combination. "It is no matter whence instruction comes, from friend or from foe, provided it be good;" and, acting on this principle, the British navy will not hesitate to acknowledge the obligations they owe to Tromp for many an after day of successful glory from the manœuvres that the stout Dutchman moved them by his example to introduce into naval tactics. 1639.

Tromp's victory occasioned, as may be supposed, great joy in Holland, and the States desired, as a compliment, that as his wife had just been brought to bed of a daughter she should be baptized by the names of "Anna Maria Victoria Martensis Trompensis Dunensis," but whether the young lady ever acquired any shorter name of endearment, or a husband to lavish it upon her, is not recorded. King Charles I., however, in admiration of the Admiral's deeds, although at peace at this time with both Spain and Holland, granted Tromp a patent of British knighthood, and a grant of supporters to his arms. This last is dated from York, 20th May, 1642. Honours paid to Tromp in Holland and England.

The Parliament, however, under the Commonwealth, with a view of encouraging navigation, had passed a law on the 1st December, 1651, to prohibit the importation of all foreign commodities, except in English bottoms. This was so serious a blow at the Hollanders that they sent an embassy to England to solicit a revocation of the Act; but instead of consenting to revoke the Act, several old pretensions of the English were revived, and this conduct convinced the 1651. The Navigation Act.

1652. — States that the two Republics must prepare for war. Accordingly preparations were made to put to sea with great expedition and expense, and Martin Tromp, with a fleet of forty ships of war, came and anchored in Dover Roads, before any declaration of war had been made. Blake, with twenty-six sail, was sent down to face them, and on a dispute as to the striking their flag according to ancient custom, a fight ensued on the 29th May, 1652, which cost the Dutch two ships and near 200 prisoners, and the English many slain and more wounded. Owing to this mishap Tromp lost his command for a short time, but was reinstalled the same year, again encountered Blake in December on the English coast, when he defeated him so effectually as to occasion the chief mast of the Dutch Admiral's flag-ship to be adorned with a broom, to show that he was now prepared to sweep the English Channel of the enemy. Little time elapsed, however, before Tromp and Blake again met off the Isle of Portland; and on the 28th February, 1653, after a running fight of three days, the Dutch were forced to fly for shelter behind the sands of Calais, leaving 300 merchant ships, that they had captured, in the hands of the English. The States becoming tired of the war wrote to the Parliament on the 20th April, and after some discussion named four ambassadors to negotiate a peace at London. But while these instructions were preparing, the fleets of England and Holland came to a new engagement on the 2nd June, when Blake and Tromp commanded as before. Tromp, fighting with great disadvantage, pierced the English line, and only just escaped the danger of being blown up in his own ship, and he was obliged at length to retire in disorder, having lost many ships, which were taken or sunk by the English. Blake now blockaded the coasts of Holland with ninety-five sail, but Tromp, with his accustomed energy, repaired the Dutch fleet,

Blake defeats Tromp.

Tromp defeats Blake.

1653. Battle off Portland, and defeat of the Dutch, Feb. 28.

Blake again defeats Tromp, June 2.

and on the 29th July came out from the Zuyder Zee with eighty-five ships. An undecided conflict took place the first day. Blake having, from ill health, given up the command to Monk, the contending fleets continued the action with the same fury as before, and Tromp made good his course till he joined the squadron of Admiral De Witt with twenty-seven sail, on the 8th August, which giving him the superiority over the English, Monk withdrew his fleet, and dropped down opposite the Catwyk; and on the 10th the fight was renewed, and waxed hot and bloody till about one in the day, when Tromp received a musket-ball in his head, of which he died in a few minutes, having scarcely time to exhort his comrades to persevere in the combat. His last words were, "I am done for; but you, my children, maintain the battle." The loss on both sides was very considerable. Twenty-seven Dutch ships were fired or sunk, and above 1000 prisoners were taken. The English lost four ships, with 400 men and eight captains killed, and 700 men and five captains wounded. On the death of the Admiral both fleets, as if by common consent, ceased firing, and withdrew to their respective harbours.

1653.

Death of Tromp, Aug. 10.

The loss of Admiral Tromp was a consternation to Holland, and the States-General received the news of his death with the greatest lamentations. The dead body of our hero was received with the greatest respect, and was buried with great solemnity at Delft. They caused a grand monument to be erected at the public cost, with an inscription much too inflated for the simple character of the noble sailor, and not redeemed by any elegance of language. They also caused medals to be struck in his honour, and sent a solemn deputation to express to his widow the national condolence. Tromp must be regarded among the most eminent sea commanders of his age and country. He was called "the father of sailors," and to him is justly to be attributed the school that formed De Ruyter and

His character as a Naval Commander.

1653. the galaxy of distinguished Dutch naval officers of the seventeenth century. We have also shown above that he devised a system of naval tactics that has been adopted by England and other maritime powers. He had been present in fifty engagements, and had been the victorious commander thirty-three times. Nor did the frequent successes that had attended his actions betoken merely his bravery, nor were they solely in respect of great maritime experience. He was indeed in many ways an efficient tactician and a skilful strategist, for even on those occasions in which he could not claim a victory he saved his ships, either by his skill in availing himself of their small draught of water to foil his pursuers, or by taking advantage of the wind in a more masterly manner than his adversaries. In the midst of his greatest glory he constantly evinced a remarkable modesty of character, and never arrogated to himself a superior service, or from his nation a higher pretension for his deeds than he would have as readily claimed for any of his comrades, nor did he ever aspire to greater honour for his name than as the father of the sailors.

The quality of this great Admiral that was most remembered was his extraordinary coolness under fire, acting in the greatest moment of danger with the completest *sang-froid*, and giving his orders from his quarter-deck, *aussi libre et aussi assuré*, as if he were quietly seated in his chamber. Perhaps there is no hero in the whole Dutch history whose memory has survived with so much genuine respect as old Martin Tromp [1].

[1] Militair Conversations Lexikon; Burchett; Vie de Tromp, par Ricker; Biographies English and French; Hennequin, Biographie Maritime, Paris, 1838; Lediard's Naval History of England; Sistema de Grovestin; Vie de Ruyter, par Gérard Brandt.

MICHEL ADRIANSZ DE RUYTER, OR, DE RUITER.

ADMIRAL-GENERAL OF HOLLAND.

Born 1607. Died 1676.

1607. Birth of De Ruyter.

I HAVE not been able to ascertain by what right the aristocratic patronymic of *De* has been always affixed to the name of Ruyter. The grandfather of our hero, bearing the same Christian name as he did himself, held a farm at Goot, near Bergen-op-zoom. His son, the father of the great Admiral, was named Adrian, and lived at Flushing, where he married, in 1601, his second wife Alida Jans, who was the mother of six daughters and five sons, of whom Michel was the fourth, who was born at Flushing on the 24th March, 1607. Nothing could have been more humble than his origin and early bringing up, for he was wont himself to relate that he was placed to work at a ropewalk at a few pence a day.

His early history.

Placed among sailors, it was natural enough that a

1607. — lad of high spirit should, from his earliest days, have set his heart upon all nautical pursuits; and at eleven years of age it is recorded of him that he was first enabled to gratify his wishes, although in the humble guise of a cabin-boy. He gradually bettered his condition, so that after eight voyages, he rose to the rank of Captain of a vessel, in 1635. In the following year he married Cornelia Engels, with whom he passed many years in perfect domestic happiness, and became the father of several children. He followed the mercantile marine in several highly successful voyages until 1640, when he obtained his rank in the Dutch navy. He was first given the command of the "Han;" but in 1641, when an expedition was fitted out to assist Portugal in its war of independence against Spain, he was promoted to serve as Rear-Admiral under Admiral Gysels. For his conduct in an action that was fought successfully off Cape St. Vincent, Ruyter received from the King of Portugal a chain of gold, and having generally signalized himself by his valour and seamanship, returned home to Flushing in December, 1642.

1641. Is made Rear-Admiral.

During the course of the succeeding nine years, from 1643 to 1652, Ruyter continued a sea life in sundry merchant ships, and in the transactions of trade underwent many adventures, to which in his after life he was not disposed to make much reference. He had already become tired of the occupation; so that when in 1650 he married a third wife, he took the resolution to quit the sea-service altogether, and for the moment he settled himself to the leisure of some land occupation, when the war that broke out in 1652, between the English and Dutch, opened an entirely new career that led him to honour and glory.

After Tromp had fallen into disfavour with the States-General of the United Provinces in consequence of the reverses he had undergone at the hand of the English Admiral Blake, they looked around in search

of some one to whom they could entrust the safety of their fleet, and at the instigation of the States of Zealand De Ruyter was requested to accept the command. It was not until he had been most urgently solicited, and even twitted at his want of patriotism in hesitating to give his aid to the necessities of his country, that he yielded; and on the 29th July, 1652, he raised his flag on the "Neptune," 28, when he joined the fleet, which was collected in the roads of Ostend. He found his command to consist of thirty ships of war (of which not one carried more than thirty guns), six fire-ships, and three galistas. Van Broeck was his second in command and Van Haof Rear-Admiral. He was also daily joined by merchantmen seeking his convoy to go down the Channel; and in this way convoying thirty-three merchantmen, he encountered, on the 26th August, an English fleet under Sir George Ayscough prepared to bar his progress with forty-four ships of war, almost in sight of Plymouth. There was no avoiding a conflict, notwithstanding the disproportionate force of the combatants; and De Ruyter ordered two fire-ships to attach themselves to each squadron, to be at the orders of the Admiral. The action was most bloody. De Ruyter, supported by the "Concord," Captain André Fortune, and "Ostrich," Captain Doave Aukes, sought out Admiral Ayscough's flag-ship, and punished it so severely, that after an action that lasted two days, Sir George had enough of it, and thought it prudent to carry his fleet into Plymouth, leaving De Ruyter free to conduct his convoy where he would.

1652.

De Ruyter commands the Dutch fleet.

Action off Plymouth.

In the history of the naval transactions of the war by Brandt, there is a considerable degree of hectoring, like Tromp's broom at the masthead; as for example, that when Ayscough was gone to Plymouth De Ruyter is represented as calling his officers together and proposing to follow him into that port, "triompher d'eux sur leurs propres côtes, pour leur faire sentir l'affront de

1652. leur défaite,"—all which is blown into bathos by a south-east wind. Thus all through the ensuing month of September a great deal is intended and nothing is done; but the whole concludes with the account of the Dutch fleet after a storm in which the ships were all separated, nine or ten miles from each other, which induces the Admiral to express "the annoyance he felt at having to cruise on the enemies' shores with officers so insolent and incapable that they neither know how to command or to obey." As Tromp was now again dismissed from his command, it may be presumed that there was some discord amongst the officers of the Dutch fleet of which he was perhaps the victim.

De Witt was now sent to assume the command of the fleet, and De Ruyter was to serve as second. Blake had in like manner superseded Ayscough, and, having taken ample revenge for that Admiral's defeat, had returned to the Downs in August; having with him sixty-eight sail, while the Dutch that came to seek him brought out but sixty-four, and these were of smaller tonnage than the English ships, which came upon them so suddenly on the 8th October, that they were unable to form or take any order. Accordingly, they became scattered, and the two flag-ships of De Witt and De Ruyter were so severely punished that they made the best of their way to Goree.

Blake drives the Dutch Admirals into Goree.

In the action between Tromp and Blake on the 18th of the month De Ruyter engaged the "Prosperity," 44, and made an attempt to board her, but failed from want of support from his supporting ships. This long and obstinate fight again ended in the escape of the Dutch fleet into French waters, leaving behind many prisoners; but the number of killed in the course of the three days' conflict was placed at 1500 on each side.

On the 22nd April, 1653, De Ruyter raised his flag on the "Crowned Love," 36, as Commander of a squadron in Admiral Tromp's fleet, which was ordered to go to sea in convoy of some 200 merchantmen re-

quiring escort for the ports of Spain and France. An English fleet, under the command of Monk and Deane, in the absence of Blake (who had gone with twenty ships to the North Sea), were cruising at this time the same seas, but did not come into any hostile presence until the first days of June. The battle that ensued is called that of the twelfth and thirteenth of May by the Dutch, and third and fourth by the English, and when it took place, off the North Foreland, De Ruyter with his squadron engaged that of Admiral Lawson of the Blue, and, after a tough engagement, which lasted till nine at night, the Dutch frigate commanded by Captain Bulter was sunk. De Ruyter's division suffered much, and himself was in greatest danger of being taken and sunk, till relieved by Tromp. Both sides were ready to renew the fight next day as well as they were able, but it was noon before the fleets came together within shot off Newport. The return of Blake's squadron during the action gave the advantage to the English; but, nevertheless, Tromp, De Witt, Evertz, and De Ruyter maintained the battle till an hour after sunset, when they all steered away to the rear of the Wielingen banks, between the coasts of Walcheren and Zealand.

1653. Battle off the Gober and Newport.

On their return to Holland all these chiefs represented to the States-General that they had fought under every disadvantage, and that it was impossible to maintain the honour of the country at sea without being reinforced with larger ships: for that the English had in their fleet more than fifty as big as the flag-ship "Brederode," which was the only one of that size in the Dutch fleet; and De Ruyter declared boldly that he would not return to his command and go to sea unless he was given larger ships better found than those that had been now given to him. A statement to the same effect was signed by all the superior officers, and orders were given by the States that these requisitions should be complied with as far

1653. as possible. The English vessels, however, kept such close watch upon the Dutch coasts that there was great difficulty experienced in getting together a new fleet, as they prevented all communications between the Wielings and the Texel.

On the 6th August, or 29th July, Tromp put to sea with eighty or ninety ships, and steered to the North, in order to unite with De Witt, who was expected out of the Texel, and on Sunday, 10th, the hostile fleets, commanded as before, again came to action off Scheveningen and Katwyk: De Ruyter commanded the left, and the Admiral the right, Evertz being in the middle, and

Death of Tromp. De Witt in the second line. Lawson's Blue squadron was engaged by Tromp, when a musket shot from the "Rainbow," flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Goodson, struck the gallant old Commander, and he died within a few minutes. The Commanders of the several squadrons were immediately called by signal on board the flag-ship, and held a council around the dead warrior's body, extended before them on the deck. Ruyter is reported to have been much overcome at the sight, and to have exclaimed, "Would it had pleased God that I had been killed in his place!" However, the flag of the Lieutenant-Admiral was ordered to be kept flying, in order to conceal the sad event from the

Gallant conduct of De Ruyter. knowledge of the enemy. Ruyter at once shifted his flag to the frigate "the Lamb," 40, and rushed into the middle of the fight; so that out of a crew of 150 men, he soon had forty-three dead and thirty-five wounded around him, and his mizen-mast and main-mast were gone by the board; nor had he more than about seven hundred-weight of powder and a few balls remaining. In this defenceless state, he summoned Captain Alderzde Hoow to tow him out of the line, and made for the mouth of the Meuse.

Considerable discussions ensued in the States-General as to whom they should appoint Lieutenant-Admiral in the room of Tromp, and the unpopularity of De

Witt, whose pretensions on the score of ability now raised him to the post of Pensionary, left the decision open to many, and to De Ruyter amongst others. However, to avoid jealousies and heart-burnings, they elected Colonel James Van Wassenaac, Lord of Opdam, to the post of Lieutenant-Admiral, and De Ruyter was constituted Vice-Admiral of Holland and Friesland, while Cornelis Van Tromp was, out of respect to his brave father, promoted to the grade of Rear-Admiral of Holland; but the peace of 1654 removed the necessity of calling on these distinguished officers for their services afloat, so that De Ruyter, instead of going to sea, took up his residence at Amsterdam: but from time to time his name came before the public as commanding detached squadrons. Thus the Vice-Admiral raised his flag "Thuis te Swieten" soon after the peace in June, 1654, with a squadron of fourteen ships, bearing orders to cruise in the Mediterranean; with reference to some dispute which had occurred in the course of the war, he was directed on meeting any English fleet to drop his flag and salute with three guns, but not to permit the visit of any foreign officer on board, excepting when driven to it by such a superiority of force as he might not be able to resist. He returned from this cruise at the end of November, and rejoined his family at Amsterdam. In June, 1655, he again hoisted his flag in order to bring the Barbary States to reason, which had outraged the Dutch flag, and meeting Blake's fleet near Faro, he dropped his flag and saluted according to his instructions, and was answered by the English Admiral with twenty-one guns. After many affairs with the Corsairs, he returned to the Texel, May, 1656.

1653. —

Is made Vice-Admiral of Holland and Friesland.

1655. Sails to the Barbary States.

A war had broken out at this period between Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, and John Casimir, King of Poland, and the Dutch, considering that their valuable trade with the Baltic might be endangered by the belligerents, had, before De Ruyter's return from the

1656. Sails to the Baltic.

1656. Mediterranean, ordered Lieutenant-Admiral Opdam to be ready to go to sea. The Vice-Admiral, however, on his return, being quite ready for service, was ordered to undertake the expedition, and with twenty-five sail dropped anchor in the Sound on the 8th June. Opdam with three ships followed him on the 27th, and the Dutch fleet put itself in communication with the Danish fleet at Copenhagen. This alliance soon terminated the war, and peace having been effected between the combatants, the combined fleets returned to their respective harbours, and De Ruyter arrived at the Vlie on the 3rd November. In December, 1657, the Vice-Admiral was again despatched to the Mediterranean, where he found himself placed in circumstances of considerable difficulty in respect to French privateers, who hampered the commerce of Holland, and were in some respect countenanced in this by the French government. De Ruyter showed much judgment in his conduct at this time, which, in fact, averted a war that appeared at one time imminent between the two States. On his return home from this service, he was rewarded with a chain of gold by the Council of Admiralty of Amsterdam. De Ruyter continued his cruise until in October, 1657, Lieutenant-Admiral Opdam arrived to asume the command of a fleet with which Holland was prepared to defend herself in a war which was now declared with Portugal, and De Ruyter served under him as Vice-Admiral, having a squadron of ten ships of war. Having encountered the sugar fleet coming from Brazil, they succeeded in capturing fifteen vessels; and with these prizes they returned home, De Ruyter entering the Texel on the 6th December.

Is sent to the Mediterranean.

1658. In June, 1658, the Vice-Admiral again quitted port with twenty-two ships of war, and, after cruising and capturing many ships off the Portuguese shores, De Ruyter returned to Holland, and anchored at the Texel on the 11th November. Opdam had, in

the meantime, cruised with a fleet in the Baltic, and 1658.
the States desiring to take a more conclusive policy in
the disputes of the northern provinces, commissioned
De Ruyter to take charge of a considerable amount of
land and sea forces, and to place himself under the
chief command of Opdam, now Sieur de Wassenaar, at
Copenhagen. On the 20th May, 1659, he sailed with 1659.
this expedition, consisting of thirty-nine ships of war, De Ruyter is sent to Copenhagen.
mounting 1743 guns, and with crews numbering 7689
sailors, and a force of 4000 soldiers, and reported
himself to the Lieutenant-Admiral on the 28th June.
No affair of arms ensued till after the 16th October,
when De Wassenaar returned to Holland, leaving the
command of the fleet to Vice-Admiral De Ruyter.

De Ruyter is made Commander-in-Chief.

The new Commander-in-Chief soon signalized his
command with a conjoint expedition, naval and mili-
tary, Dutch and Danish, which rendezvoused on the
8th November before Nybourg, where they threatened
to make a descent; but the Swedish batteries plied
red-hot shot so effectually as to fire several ships, and
the flag-ship among the rest; so that the weather being
also unfavourable, it was resolved to attempt the
enterprise on some other part of the Swedish coast,
and with this view they repaired to Cartemonde,
which place they forthwith cannonaded, and Marshal
Shak was landed in the early morning to advance
against the town. The Swedes, however, showed such
a force of cavalry that it was necessary for the Allies
to have the assistance of that arm, and accordingly
1000 horses were quickly disembarked, and De Ruy-
ter, leaving the army under its chief to establish
themselves, stood out to sea with the fleet. The
King of Sweden had established his head-quarters at
this time in the island of Falster, but as soon as he
heard of the landing of the Dutch in Funen, he has-
tened to rejoin his army; but his Council deeming the
risk too great to attempt to pass the straits in an open
boat, persuaded His Majesty to send Marshal Steenbok

1659. to command his forces. The armies, under the respective commands of the Marshals Steenbok, Eberstein, and Schak, came in presence on the 23rd November.

Attack of Nybourg. The Swedes under the former occupied a strong hill in front of Nybourg, and had formed a deep ditch in their front, while the hedges and houses flanking it were filled with musketeers. The Danes under Eberstein commenced the attack, but were unable to force the Swedes from their position, until Schak brought forward the Dutch against the right wing of the Swedish position with better success. The enemy gave way, leaving all their artillery behind them, and were forced to fall back behind the ramparts of Nybourg. Marshal Schak immediately sent off to the Vice-Admiral to apprise him of the issue of the battle, and on the 25th De Ruyter ranged his ships of war, and anchored them off the walls of Nybourg, where he opened such a cannonade upon the unhappy town, that reduced it in a very short time to a mere heap of

Surrender of Nybourg. ashes. The troops immediately entered into terms, and surrendered at discretion. Marshal Steenbok had fled from the battle-field without entering Nybourg, and had got on board a fishing smack, which carried him away in safety, but 7000 men laid down their arms, half of whom were cavalry; so that the Dutch possessed themselves likewise of 3000 horses, of all the Swedish artillery, and many standards. Thus the island of Funen was successfully retaken from Sweden and restored to Denmark, principally by the Dutch fleet and army, in a short campaign of fifteen or

Death of the King of Sweden. sixteen days. The King of Sweden was so overwhelmed at this catastrophe, which he learned from the mouth of Marshal Steenbok himself, that he shut himself up in Gottenbourg, where he died on the 23rd February, 1660.

The death of the King soon led to a suspension of arms between the contending fleets and armies, which was settled on the 20th March, but it was the 6th

June when peace was concluded between Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, in the presence of the Ambassadors of England and France, at Elbinng, in Pomerania. The duty that now devolved on De Ruyter was to assist in the transport of the Swedish army out of Denmark, and he had the satisfaction of reporting to the King in person on the 4th August, that every Swedish soldier had retired out of his dominions. Three days afterwards he again waited on His Majesty to present his letter of recall, when he was very graciously thanked for the great services he had rendered his kingdom. A grand dinner was prepared by Marshal Schak on the 11th to take leave of the Dutch fleet, at which the King himself was present; and on that occasion His Majesty presented to De Ruyter, with his own hand, a grant of Danish nobility, an honourable augmentation to his coat of arms, and a pension for life of 1800 crowns. On the 13th August De Ruyter raised anchor, but it was the 3rd September before he disembarked at the Vlie, when he was restored to his family at Amsterdam, having been absent from Holland fifteen months and fourteen days. 1660.

In the year 1661 De Ruyter was again placed in commission with a squadron of nine vessels of war, mounting 382 pieces of cannon, to protect the Dutch commerce in the North Sea; and he set sail with this object in the end of May. Returning to port on the 29th June, he received orders to proceed with a convoy to the Mediterranean, and render the same protection to Dutch commerce against the African pirates on the shores of that sea. Accordingly he set sail on the 17th July, convoying twenty-seven merchant-ships to Lisbon and Cadiz. Before entering the Straits his fleet was reinforced, with which on the 24th August he ran into the port of Malaga. Here he met an English squadron under Lord Sandwich, and the allied fleets concurred in putting down the Turkish pirates. On the 5th September, in obedience to the orders of 1661. De Ruyter proceeds to the Mediterranean.

1661. his Government, De Ruyter anchored at Cadiz, to receive the orders of the Duke de Medina Cœli relative to a cruise he was to make to meet the Silver Fleet at sea, and to convoy it to a Spanish port. Here a reinforcement joined him from Holland, and with seventeen ships of war he quitted the Bay of Cadiz on the 8th with this object. For several weeks he cruised between Cape St. Vincent and St. Mary, and ten or twenty leagues to sea, according to the minister's instructions, without being able to obtain any news of the expected fleet, until he heard on the 2nd October that they had given him the go-by, and were arrived in the roads of Corunna; on which he returned with his fleet to Cadiz. After this he again returned to the Mediterranean, where he was engaged in punishing, threatening, and coercing the Regencies of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, until he returned home and struck
1663. his flag at the Texel, on the 19th April, 1663. On
1664. the 8th May, the following year, De Ruyter was again sent with a fleet of twelve ships of war to join himself with the former squadron, which he had left on the Mediterranean under Cornelis Van Tromp. From thence he proceeded, with a similar view of protecting Dutch commerce, to the roads of Goree and Guinea, and to the West Indies, from whence he did not again
1665. return until August, 1665. During the latter portion

De Ruyter, hearing of the death of Opdam, returns to Holland.

of his voyage home he had become partially aware of the state of political affairs between Holland and England, and of the naval action that had been fought between the Duke of York and Opdam, in which that Dutch Lieutenant-Admiral had lost his life, and De Ruyter had in consequence resolved to return without having actually received letters of recall. He took, however, the precaution of sailing with a wide berth to the North of Europe, in order that he might not fall into the midst of some enemy's fleet; and on the 6th August cast anchor before the port of Delfzyl, in the *embouchure* of the Ems, with nineteen ships of

war and five prizes, which he had captured of the English *en voyage*. 1665.

The news of De Ruyter's return was received with great joy in Holland. There had been much discussion, and many intrigues in operation as to the election of a successor to Opdam, as Admiral and General-in-Chief of Holland and East Friesland, and the opportune arrival of De Ruyter determined the point; so that within a week from the notification of his arrival at Delfzyl, he received a messenger apprising him of his appointment to this high office, and the desire of the Government that he should repair to the capital as speedily as possible. Leaving then his fleet in the Ems, under the command of Lieutenant-Admiral Meppel, and ordering all the gold and rich valuables that he had brought with him from his long cruise to be sent to Amsterdam, he took his way by Groningen, Dokkum, and Leuwaarden to Harlingen, where he arrived on the 15th August, and whence he prepared to go on board the fleet that lay at the Texel. Cornelis Tromp had, however, conceived a great offence at the appointment of De Ruyter to the supreme command, to which he had himself aspired, and, before De Ruyter could arrive, he had raised a storm on the matter; so that, being now in command of the fleet until the Admiral-General's arrival, he carried it out to sea. Accordingly, after taking the oaths of his new appointment before the commissioners who met him at the Texel, De Ruyter embarked on a frigate, and was met on board the flag-ship on the 18th by the Pensionary De Witt, who placed in his hands the supreme command of the fleet; on which he repaired to the fleet, and raised his flag the same day on the mainmast of the "Delflandt," 70, which was forthwith saluted by the whole fleet, and Tromp struck his flag without another murmur. To the surprise of the whole world, the energies of the Dutch authorities had so far overcome the disaster of the 13th June, that the fleet now collected numbered 93 ships of war and frigates, carrying 4337

De Ruyter made Admiral and General-in-Chief.

1665. cannon, and manned by 15,052 sailors and 1283 marinès, besides 3300 soldiers, making in all 19,635 men. This force was divided into four, having Evertzen, Tromp, and De Vries at the head of the three squadrons of the line, and Van Nès commanding the Admiral-General's own squadron of reserve.

The Dutch fleet remained at sea all through the autumn without any affair of consequence having taken place between the opposing fleets, and on the 3rd November De Ruyter entered the Texel with thirty-three men-of-war; and with a generous spirit, seeing the unpopularity of De Witt, who had been on board the fleet during the entire cruise, and against whom all sorts of false rumours had been circulated, he repaired at once to the Hague, and took up his quarters in the Pensionary's house, declaring openly that he had received the greatest assistance from his advice and counsel, and had never had a word of difference with him during their intercourse; and this he was permitted to state in the assembly of the States-General, where the Admiral-General was received with unaccustomed respect, and permitted to make his statement seated, and with his hat on his head. On the 25th he was received in like manner by the States of Holland and East Friesland, and on the 10th December by the Council of Admiralty at Amsterdam, who voted him the place of their president.

De Ruyter's generous defence of De Witt.

1666. On the 11th April, 1666, De Ruyter hoisted his flag on board "The Seven Provinces," 80, a vessel newly constructed, and now manned with 475 men. The fleet quitted the Texel on the 5th June, numbering eighty-five men-of-war, besides frigates. There were also fire-ships, yachts, and Indiamen; so that the command of the Admiral-General was over more than 100 sail, bearing 4615 guns and 21,909 men. The English fleet, to which they were to be opposed, was under the joint command of Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, and consisted of eighty-one ships

of war, mounting 4460 guns and 21,805 men; so that there was no great disparity of metal and numbers between the belligerants, who came in presence on the 11th between Dunkirk and the North Foreland. At this moment France had entered into a new alliance with the Dutch against England, and a fleet under the Duke de Beaufort was sent to sea, ostensibly to unite with the Dutch fleet, while some of the high French nobility had come as volunteers, and had been received as honoured guests on board the Dutch men-of-war; the two sons of the Duke de Grammont on board the "Durvenvoorde," and the Marquis de la Ferté on board the "Guelderlandt." Prince Rupert having been detached with the English white squadron to intercept Beaufort's passage up the Channel, the strength of the English fleet was thus considerably reduced, so that De Ruyter was disposed to attack it. 1666.

France sends a fleet to join the Dutch.

At about noon of the 11th June the advanced squadron, under Cornelis Van Tromp, commenced the action, which continued without intermission till ten at night. The fight continued with the same bitterness and intrepidity all through the 12th, until about three or four o'clock, when De Ruyter's flag-ship lost her mainmast, and was so thoroughly disabled in her rigging that the Admiral-General ordered his flag to be run up by Van Nés on board his own flag-ship. On the other hand, Monk's fleet was diminished to thirty-nine sail; but, nevertheless, keeping perfect order, and placing their disabled ships in advance, and the more serviceable nearest the enemy, the English took their course towards their own shore, avoiding as much as possible all contest, so as to unite with Prince Rupert, as soon as he should return from the North. Before sunset of the 13th the Prince appeared in sight with twenty-five sail, so that the English force now numbered sixty-four sail, while that of Holland was about the same number; but the former were believed to be in a much better condition in every respect than the

Severe battle of four days' duration between the English and Dutch.

1666. Dutch. The combat was renewed the fourth day between these resolute enemies at eight in the morning, in the open sea between their two shores, and continued as long as daylight lasted, when both fleets withdrew to their own ports. The Dutch acknowledged the loss of three Admirals, Evertzen, Van der Hulst, and Stockrom, six Captains, and 800 killed and 1150 wounded. The English admitted 600 slain, 1200 wounded, and 2000 prisoners. In this latter category was Vice-Admiral Sir George Ayscough whose ship of 90 guns, the "Prince Royal," was caught in the action of the second day, on the Galloper Sands, and destroyed. Sir William Berkeley and Sir Christopher Mings were amongst the killed, and others of less note. It is singular enough that no account of this terrible action records alike the actual number of ships lost on either side. Brandt says the English lost twenty-three ships, of which seventeen were burnt or sunk, and four captured. Echard says the English had but nine taken and captured, and that the Dutch lost fifteen ships; while Rapin says they only lost six ships. The statements and reports current in England, as given in the "Life of Sir W. Penn," sufficiently show that the English "had had enough of it." But both sides claimed a victory, and there were rejoicings for it in England and Holland, while on both sides the water the most energetical endeavours were made to enable their fleets to go again to sea; and as both were repaired in a short time, and put to sea more formidable than before, it is reasonable to conclude, that there never was any action more fairly entitled to be regarded as "a drawn battle" than that of the four days.

Severe losses of the English and Dutch.

The English and Dutch fleets put to sea.

On the 4th July De Ruyter was off Walcheren with a portion of his fleet, which in a few days was augmented to the number of seventy-five ships of war and frigates, and seven fire-ships, with which the States proposed to make a descent upon the English coast, believing themselves to have got in readiness before

their rivals: but De Ruyter considered that it would be an act of great temerity to attempt such a thing, and, therefore, stood away for the mouth of the Thames to shut up their enemy. On the 19th the English fleet put to sea with eighty-nine men-of-war, and twenty fire-ships, "the best fleet for force of guns, greatness, and number of ships and men that ever England did see." It is, again, difficult to determine the date of the events we are about to relate. The English say "the fight began on the 25th July;" the Dutch say that "both fleets anchored face to face on the night of the 3rd August[1], and that it was daylight on the 4th when the Dutch raised their anchors and began the battle: the English, in their impatience, cutting their cables to be the sooner ready to receive them." It was in the same place, in the open sea off the North Foreland, where the former contest had raged, that this renewed fight now took place. Sir Thomas Allen, with the white squadron, met the advanced squadron under Van Tromp and De Vries, both awaiting a little breeze to terminate the dead calm that prevailed before they could come to blows; so that it was one in the afternoon before they could "get at" each other. The Admiral-General encountered the Prince Rupert and the Lord Admiral, and they respectively bore down on each other, attended by their several supports, and thus the action became general.

1666.

Unreliability of the dates in all accounts of these actions.

Another battle off the North Foreland.

In the early part of the engagement the Admiral-General saw with surprise and displeasure that the squadron of Van Tromp held aloof from the rest, motionless, with their sails brailed up, while Evertzen and De Vries, keeping up a running fight, separated themselves in like manner from the flag-ship. The consequence was that the English were enabled to avail themselves of the interval, caused by the absence of these

[1] It is most probable that the difference on such a matter of fact is attributable to the O.S. and N.S.

1666. two squadrons, to fall on De Ruyter and Admiral Van Nès, who formed his support. The gallant commander defended himself as was his wont, but to his extreme disgust, when the smoke cleared a little, he saw the squadron of Evertzen and De Vries making sail away for Holland, without paying any attention to his signals. The reason of these mischances, which eventually told so fatally against success, did not transpire till De Ruyter had been forced to retreat behind the Wielings. But Van Tromp—whose justification, however, was not admitted by his country, for he was dismissed from the service—had been in conflict the whole day with the blue squadron of the English under Sir Jeremy Smith, in which one of the Dutch fire-ships had destroyed the "Resolution," 68, with which all the crew, excepting eighty men, perished. The blue squadron was at the same time so roughly handled by the Dutch Admirals, Meppel and Swens; that nothing but the wonderful energies of Sir Jeremy Smith and his officers kept their vessels afloat; and in the end they were under the necessity of flying, and were pursued by Van Tromp until they were quite out of sight of the Admiral-General. On the other hand, Evertzen and De Vries, in their combat with Sir Thomas Allen and the white squadron of the English, were removed by a totaly different accident. Both the Dutch Admirals had been killed early in the action, and a third, Admiral Koenders, also lost his life. The remaining one, Admiral Bankert, had been sunk with his flag-ship; and two or three other ships had been captured; which occasioned so much consternation and disorder, that the crews would no longer obey their officers, but made their pilots carry off the ships out of the line.

Gallant conduct of De Ruyter.

Thus the Admiral-General found himself deprived at once of the squadrons of Zealand and Friesland, and almost reduced to his own squadron of reserve. During the whole day he had only the assistance of Admiral Van

Nès, and the sterling quality of his own courage, to maintain the fight, continually hoping that the other ships of the fleet would return to their flag-ship; and in this way he passed through the day and the night, so completely in the midst of the enemy, that the voices on either ships could be heard. Every man, soldier, and sailor, was doing his best to restore the damage done to the ships; and when day broke every eye was strained to look for the missing squadrons, but in vain. Under these circumstances, having only seven or eight ships with him, he took counsel of Van Nès what they should do, who unhesitatingly replied, "We have nothing to do but to retreat as fast as we can." The high spirit of the gallant veteran chafed under this necessity, and he cried, "How miserable is my fortune! amidst so many bullets was there not one to take me? I wish I was dead!" "Yes," replied Van Nès, "and so do I; but death never comes just at the moment we wish for it." Thus, surrounded by the English ships of war, who strove in vain to add to their victory the capture of the Admiral-General, De Ruyter, with great skill and bravery, made his way through the Spleete, until he safely anchored off Doorlo at evening. Van Tromp, with all his squadron, and with the abandoned flag-ship of De Vries, which he had picked up in his course, reached the rendezvous of Wielingen on the 6th August, and was immediately ordered into arrest.

1666. —

De Ruyter retreats.

Arrest of Van Tromp.

The English had obtained a complete success, and were now enabled to ride incontestible masters of the sea; and the greatness of the victory was not only this, but also that the most violent animosities reigned in the Dutch fleet, when Tromp and several other captains who had misbehaved lost their commissions. On the 7th already Monk appeared in sight of the coasts of Holland with eighty ships. There was not a Dutch ship of war to defend them, or to impede the English from insulting the Dutch

Monk ravages the Dutch coast.

1666. harbours; and, sailing down the shores, a detachment of soldiers was landed on Vlieland, under Captain Holmes, which burned 140 merchantmen and two men-of-war; after which they landed on the little isle of Terscheling, which they also laid waste with fire and sword.

After this expedition the English Fleet returned, and anchored on the 20th at St. Helen's, that being the fittest station for hindering the junction of the Dutch and French fleets. The King of France, at the urgent solicitation of De Witt, hastened the advance of the Duke of Beaufort with the French Fleet, which was all this while at La Rochelle. Instead, however, of the fleet, a Commissioner (the Count d'Estrades) arrived in Holland, on the part of Louis XIV., bearing his royal authority to invest De Ruyter with the order of St. Michael, and to present to him a portrait of the King in enamel, enriched with three rows of diamonds.

It was not till the 20th September that De Beaufort quitted Belleisle, and, without having been perceived, safely sailed by the Isle of Wight. In the meanwhile De Ruyter had carried a few ships out of Flushing with his flag-ship, and had anchored to the south of Boulogne, near Estaples. In this short course he had met several single English ships, with which he had exchanged fire; and on one of these occasions a splinter had been swallowed by the Admiral, which every effort to produce sickness had failed to remove, and it produced such an inflammation as resulted in a fever, under which he was forced to take to his bed; and it was the beginning of December before he again became convalescent. This illness of the Admiral-General obliged the States to recall their fleet, and the French King, anxious for his navy (which with so much care and industry he had lately ordered to be constructed), despatched orders to De Beaufort to make the best of his way to Brest.

The French and Dutch fleets are recalled.

1667.

The States-General, resolved to improve the occasion, laboured incessantly all through the winter and spring to equip a powerful fleet, and on the 7th May De Ruyter was appointed anew to command in chief the entire naval force of the United Provinces, and no less than seventeen Admirals, Vice-Admirals, and Rear-Admirals were named to serve under his orders.

De Ruyter is sent on an expedition to England.

On the 6th June the fleet, consisting of no more than forty-nine ships of war and frigates, set sail from the Texel under De Ruyter, who had received instructions, dated the same day, for the service on which he was to proceed. The expedition was the very boldest act that the Dutch Government had ever contemplated to carry into effect to the injury of their most formidable enemy. The Admiral-General was directed to proceed off the mouth of the Meuse, and there take in whatever number of soldiers and ammunition he should find prepared, and take his course from thence to the mouth of the Thames, and into the Medway, pushing on such vessels as were of smallest draught to Rochester and Chatham. On the 9th and 10th the fleet arrived off the Meuse, where it took on board the soldiers and ammunition, while Commander Van der Zaan was sent with a squadron of light, fast-sailing yachts to scour the sea, in order to take note of any hostile sail that might be cruising about, but to return each day at nightfall to the flag. Other ships of war and fireships were continually coming in, so that on the 13th the fleet was augmented to the number of seventy-one ships of war and frigates; and these were now divided into three squadrons, under the orders of Admirals Van Nès, Van Gent, and Van Meppel. With this force De Ruyter stood over to the mouth of the Thames; but on the 15th a violent gale dispersed the ships, many of which were driven about by the wind because their anchors would not hold, and were in great danger. However, they all brought up to anchor on the 18th, and, at a council of war held on board the flag-ship,

1667. the arrangement for their further progress was determined upon. Van Gent was ordered forward to take soundings and to land the troops, while De Ruyter with the rest remained on the middle ground where they had brought up. On the 20th Van Gent's squadron opened fire on Sheerness, and under its influence disembarked 1800 soldiers, and Colonel Dolman, who immediately advanced and got possession of the fort; but, finding it in such a condition as to be untenable, they embarked the guns, burnt the timber-yard, and recalled the soldiers.

Sheerness is attacked.

De Ruyter then pushed on to Queenborough, and there he went on board a small vessel, to carry him up to Chatham. However, when opposite Upnor Castle he found a chain, defended by six ships of war and batteries, which opened an incessant fire upon the Dutch squadron. Here a Captain Van Braekel offered his services to remove the obstacles placed to stop the fleet; who, pushing forward in a small frigate, called "Peace," followed by a fire-ship, called "Pro Patriâ," broke the chain[1], and set fire to the "Jonathan," 44, and the "Matthew," 27, which defended it. Another fire-ship, called the "Schiedam," set the "Charles V.," 60, in flames. The English troops had now begun to assemble, but were unable to prevent Vice-Admiral Liefde from taking possession of the "Royal Charles." The Admiral-General and Van Gent met on board the "Bescheming," in order to arrange the further proceedings, and there they passed the night. It was resolved to take advantage of the morning tide, and, without minding the fire of Upnor Castle, to push farther up the river. Seven fire-ships were ordered on this service, while the great ships opened fire on the Castle. But De Ruyter passed by in order to accompany the fire-ships, and himself led one of them to fire the shipping they found there.

De Ruyter proceeds to Chatham.

[1] The Dutch are said to preserve the chain, which they carried away to Enkhuysen, in memory of this gallant affair.

The "Faithful London," 80, the "Royal James," 80, and the "Royal Oak," 80, were all three burned in the very sight of the Dukes of York and Albemarle, who at about three o'clock on the 23rd at length arrived with some soldiers to defend the arsenal. 1667. Destruction of the English ships at Chatham.

De Ruyter had already accomplished all he had intended, and so on the morning of the 24th the Dutch fleet dropped down the Medway, carrying with them the "Royal Charles," and the "Jonathan," and in their way they met the Zealand squadron, under Admiral Bankert, with five men-of-war, coming up. The fleet rendezvoused on the 26th, which being Sunday was kept as a day of thanksgiving to God for their preservation in this trying service. De Ruyter, learning that an English fleet of twenty ships was assembling at Harwich, now quitted the Thames with a view of attacking it, but contented himself with sending Vice-Admirals De Liefde and Evertzen to reconnoitre the roads, while with the other two squadrons of his fleet he hovered about the North Foreland. He sent Van Nès with a squadron, in like manner, to explore the Thames, who here met with Sir Edward Spragge, with a small force of five frigates and seventeen fire-ships hastily collected together, who at once gave him battle. The fight was very unequal, but there being at first but little or no wind, Sir Edward took advantage of that circumstance—by dexterously handling his ships—to burn eleven or twelve of the Dutch fire-ships, with the loss of six of his own; but was nevertheless obliged to shelter himself from the enemy's superiority of force by running under the cannon of Tilbury Fort. The next day, however, he again attacked the Dutch, and had more success, since he obliged them to retreat out of the river. Sir Edward Spragge repulses the Dutch.

The consternation that reigned at London when the report reached them of the presence of De Ruyter in Consternation in London.

1667. — the Medway, and of his burning and capturing the King's ships in the very port of Chatham, may be well imagined. Ships were immediately sunk in such places of the Thames as would prevent any attempt upon the capital; while the naval and military authorities exerted all their energies to place it in a condition of defence. The effect of the news upon the negotiators at Breda was electric: the English became more pliant, and the several points on which they had been most stiff were readily yielded. The Dutch Government, on the other hand, sent word to their Admiral-General to re-enter the mouth of the Thames: but circumstances no longer justified the attempt, and so he sailed down the Channel, threatening Portsmouth and Plymouth.

Peace concluded between England, the States-General, and France.

These events, however, so changed the face of affairs, that, on the 31st July, peace was signed between England, the States-General, and France. It was, indeed, high time that the madness of war between such commercial people should be brought to a conclusion. "If it is now questioned what advantage England received from a war undertaken upon such slight grounds, and with such animosity—it will not be easy to discover a single advantage that was not really contained in the treaty of 1662. Yet the war cost the country 5,550,000*l.* sterling, besides the value of the ships of war either lost in the sea engagements or at Chatham. While the expense to the Dutch was equally exorbitant[3]."

As the autumn approached the States-General resolved to call back their fleets into harbour, to save them from the casualties of the season; and on the 15th October De Ruyter struck his flag at the Goree, and repaired to the Hague, where he was welcomed with many proofs of gratitude and consideration, and received the present of a cup of solid gold, on which was enamelled the capture of Sheerness, and the

[3] Rapin.

destruction of the ships of war at Chatham, "as a monument to his family and to posterity" of that successful event. Medals recording the transaction were also struck by the several Provinces, that of Amsterdam bearing the legend, "Sic fines nostros leges tutamur et undas." 1667.

Medals struck to commemorate De Ruyter's triumph.

De Ruyter had now an opportunity for some repose, after thirteen or fourteen years of most active service; and for three or four years he now resided in his mansion situated in the island of Waals, on the bank of the Y, in Amsterdam. Here he resided, without any state or external display, the mark of every stranger who visited the capital of Holland, as the greatest hero of the time, and came to be regarded by his countrymen, not only with the devotion and affection that a free people always show to their foremost men, but with a pious respect which the Dutch are always ready to show to the great men of the earth, as instruments in the hand of Providence to bless their Republic, to preserve them from dangers, to crown their exertions with success, and establish peace[4]. The Admiral-General was of a very retiring, modest demeanour; and Sir William Temple thus describes him at this very juncture: "This very considerable person, who was held by foreigners to be the greatest naval hero of the time, might be seen walking in the streets of Amsterdam, dressed like any ordinary Captain of a ship, followed by a single servant, never in a carriage; and within his residence there was nothing magnificent nor grand, nor was his table more richly supplied than that of any merchant in the place." He was exceedingly courteous towards strangers, and gracious to his own people; charitable to the poor, and very pious in his life; a regular frequenter of his church, and with the habit of reading aloud from the Scriptures to his wife and niece when at their work;

De Ruyter in retirement.

[4] Brandt.

1667. — and was particularly remarkable for a clear and highly musical voice. This is the account given of his *otium cum dignitate* at this time, at the age of sixty-one.

1671. In 1671 De Ruyter was called out from his social retreat again, to hoist his flag on board "The Seven Provinces;" and on the 8th July he put to sea with thirty-six sail, men-of-war, frigates, yachts, and fire-ships. The Admiral-General's son, Captain Engel de Ruyter, served at this time under his father, in the command of the frigate, "Stadt en Landen." Nothing very particular occurred on this cruise, and he struck his flag at Helvoetsluys on the 29th September.

1672. War declared against Holland by England and France. On the 7th April, 1672, new complications having occurred in the diplomacy of Europe, consequent on the wars of ambition of Louis XIV., a declaration of war was issued by Great Britain against Holland; and on the same day a similar declaration of war on the part of France was announced in the several countries; and on 29th April a squadron of seven ships of war, two frigates, and three fire-ships went to sea under De Ruyter's command, while a general rendezvous of the fleet was ordered, first at the Vlie, and afterwards at the Texel. Here De Ruyter assembled his force, and was joined by the two De Witts, as Deputies and Plenipotentiaries of the States, who in that quality were received on board his flagship. His force consisted of thirty-five ships of war, twelve fire-ships, and two yachts, comprising sixty-seven sail, under Lieutenant-Admirals Van Nés and Van Gent, to which was joined, on the 12th May, the Zealand squadron of six ships of war, two frigates, and four fire-ships, under Lieutenant-Admiral Bankert. The fleet thus constituted repaired to the Downs, where De Ruyter learned that the united fleets of England and France, amounting to nearly 150 sail, were already assembled near the Isle of Wight; on which a council of war was called on the 17th May, and it was determined that the Dutch fleet should

cruise between the Wielings and the Meuse for the protection of their own shores. 1672.

Battle of Solebay.

As soon as the allied Admirals heard that the Dutch fleet was at sea, they came through the Straits to meet them, and anchored at Solebay, about two miles to the south of Southwold, on the river Blythe, where there is a good anchorage, sheltered by a promontory called Easton Ness. The Duke of York commanded the English fleet, as Lord High Admiral, and Maréchal d'Estrées, Vice-Admiral of France. De Ruyter no sooner received information that his enemy was anchored in Solebay, than he put his fleet before the wind, and came upon the combined fleets so suddenly that he had liked to have surprised them; but being disappointed in this, he prepared for battle. Both fleets were divided into three squadrons. The Duke of York commanded the red; the Comte d'Estrées, the white; and the Earl of Sandwich, the blue; and were opposed respectively to De Ruyter, Bankert, and Van Gent. The three opposing squadrons advanced to the fight, the flag-ship of each leading a short space in front, accompanied by a fire-ship on either hand[5]. The battle commenced at seven or eight in the morning of the 28th May (7th June). It is not easy to relate, nor can it well be imagined, the dreadful carnage that followed the first discharge. At nine o'clock the mainmast of the Duke of York's flag-ship, the "Prince," was carried away, and His Royal Highness was obliged to shift his flag to the "London." Van Nès endeavoured to set the "Royal Catherine," 80, on fire, but the fire-ship was turned against the Dutch Admiral, and nearly fired his flag-ship. He then succeeded in boarding the English ship, but Captain Chicheley drove him out again.

[5] It is related that De Ruyter, addressing his pilot, said, whilst pointing to the Lord High Admiral's flag at the main, "Pilot Zeyer, that's our man;" to which the burly seaman replied, doffing his cap, "Sir, you shall have your meeting."

1672. — Bravery and death of Sandwich.

Captain Van Braekel, in the "Great Holland," 72, came into action against Sandwich, and a terrible combat ensued. Braekel, in like manner, got possession for a moment of the "Royal James," 100, but was shortly driven out again. Van Gent then came up, but the Earl killed him, and beat off his ship. Vice-Admiral Sweers then seeing the English vessel torn in pieces with shot, together with other ships, came down upon Sandwich, who sank three fire-ships which endeavoured to grapple with him; but at length another fire-ship, with better success, laid hold of the "Royal Charles," and burned it to the water's edge; when, the powder having been drowned by the leakage of the vessel, it went down with all on board without exploding.

"The historians of the two nations equally pretend that their fleet chased that of their enemy, but both speak of it very faintly. For it is not entirely the same with engagements at sea as with those at land, when commonly he that remains master of the field of battle justly assumes the honour of the victory; whereas in naval engagements a fog, a calm, a wind, either contrary or tempestuous, may oblige the victorious fleet to retire the first. However this be, bonfires were equally made at London and at the Hague for the success of this battle, but with little reason on either side. The Dutch retired from the conflict south, the English north, and night alone put an end to the murderous fight. De Ruyter himself declared that 'with all his experience of many naval battles he had never witnessed one more terrible or so long.' The English had two ships burned, three sunk, and one taken. The French had one burned and one taken. The Dutch loss is believed to have been nearly as great as that of their opponents, but I do not find it any where clearly stated; and on the 9th June the Hollanders anchored near Walcheren, and the English and French had already quitted the sea, and repaired to their own ports.

Rejoicings at London and the Hague.

"There can be no doubt but that De Ruyter evinced his accustomed boldness in attacking by surprise the combined fleets on their own ground under such disproportionate resources, and that the battle was fought out with the bravery and nautical skill that invariably marked every naval battle of the Hollanders. Yet the French Admiral was in a very small degree a spectator of the battle. Immediately Bankert moved against the French squadron they put their helms south, and sailed away altogether, keeping up a distant fight as they went, secret orders having been given to Comte d'Estrées 'to leave the English and Dutch fleets to destroy one another.'" 1672.

Nothing less than a complete victory could have satisfied the object of the Pensionary De Witt to save his country from the calamities that from every quarter threatened to overwhelm her. Astonishment seized the Dutch nation at beholding such a combination of powerful princes and adverse circumstances that had gathered at this juncture around the Republic. In their despair they opened the sluices, and scrupled not in their extremity to restore to the sea those fertile provinces which great art and expense had won from the ocean. Convinced of the impotency of Holland to oppose the French legions by land, the hopes of the nation were more than ever turned to their naval army and its gallant commander. Orders were issued to supply the fleet with all the powder and ball that could be put on board it, and De Ruyter was ordered on the 25th June to detach from his anchorage off West Kapelle every yacht, gunboat, or craft drawing little water, to occupy the Zuyder Zee and defend the inundations, and Captain Klaas-Dekker was sent on this service, with about a dozen craft of this character. At the same time the Admiral-General was advised that the States had information from London of the intention of the Confederate Powers to make descents upon the shores of Zealand, and the

The Dutch open the sluices.

1672. — fleet was therefore directed to have their anchors, down behind the sand-banks extending near Doorlo, between Wielingen and Flushing, ranged in squadrons and divisions, so as best to meet the enemy by land and by water, and to organize the fire-ships in such places as could best defend every possible landing-place.

On the 25th June De Ruyter received on board the "Seven Provinces" the afflicting intelligence of the foul attempt at assassination that had been made upon his great personal friend the Pensionary De Witt, and his brother Ruart Cornelius De Witt, the latter of whom had only recently quitted his flag-ship on account of ill health. The two brothers had both been the State Deputies on board his fleet, and had, by their wisdom and counsels, greatly assisted the Admiral-General.

De Ruyter's family threatened.

Within a few days the graver report reached him that his own house at Amsterdam had been surrounded by the enraged people, and that his wife and children had been for some time exposed to imminent danger. Every day the news that came in added to the horror and anxiety of a man placed so high among the people yet detained, in a constrained absence, from his home by the intensity of his public duties at a fearful national crisis. The brothers De Witt were judicially condemned to be banished the Commonwealth, but when, on the 12th August, John came to Ruart's prison to accompany him to his exile, the populace rose and pulled the two brothers from the jail, and literally tore them to pieces. Nor did the death of these most virtuous men and magistrates satiate the brutal rage of the multitude. They exercised on the dead bodies indignities too shocking to be recited; nor would they suffer the friends of the deceased to bestow on them the common respect of a funeral; they were committed to the grave silently and unattended. Well might De Ruyter write that "he could not learn without a shudder of the inhuman massacre of these two State Ministers; that nothing could be more odious or of

The Pensionary De Witt and his brother murdered by the populace.

more pernicious example than a horrible murder from the cruelty and furor of the populace; and that he prayed God to protect the State, by His merciful Providence, from such excesses and seditions in all times to come." 1672. —

Election of the Prince of Orange as Stadtholder.

The first consequence of the banishment of the Pensionary was the unanimous election of the Prince of Orange to be Stadtholder, Governor-General, and Admiral, and, on the 11th July, this fact was communicated to the Admiral-General for the information of the fleet, who received it with the greatest joy, and De Ruyter addressed the Prince the same day, expressing a hope "that, under his wise counsels, the prosperity of the State might be revived, and that he awaited, with all respect, the honour of His Highness's commands;" to which he received a gracious reply on the 18th. He forthwith reported to the Stadtholder the condition of the force under his command: that it did not consist of more than forty-seven ships of war, twelve frigates, and about twenty fire-ships; that they were all very much under-manned, the whole equipage of the fleet not exceeding at the moment 5749 men; that he thought it good for the discipline and efficiency of the service to change anchorage from time to time, and that accordingly he had, on the 20th, moved to new anchorage off the Goree, sending scouts to observe the entire coast from the Texel to the Ems. The weather, however, continued so violent and stormy into the month of September that the fleet was very much damaged, and accordingly on the 17th De Ruyter wrote to recommend to the States that the state of the weather rendered it as unlikely for the enemy to make an attempt to land on their coast as it was on their part exceedingly difficult to perform their duties of prevention, and he therefore counselled their withdrawal into port.

Accordingly, on the 22nd, the Admiral-General

1672. struck his flag at the Goree, and repaired, on the 26th, to the Hague, to render his report in person to the States then in Session. He also proceeded to pay his respects to the Stadtholder at his head-quarters at Nithoorn. Here the Prince showed him the intelligence received of the English fleet having left the mouth of the Thames with sixty-three sail; and accordingly he repaired, by desire of His Highness, to Rotterdam and Helvoetsluys, where he discovered that it was a false alarm, arising from the captain of a privateer who had come into port with his prizes. De Ruyter immediately reported the fact, but went to sea with the vessels at hand to make a *reconnoissance* in person, and on his return received from the Stadtholder the assurance "that his more direct advices from England satisfied him that there was no immediate apprehension of a descent on their coasts from that quarter," and he was therefore permitted to join his family at Amsterdam, where he arrived on the 16th October. The progress of events by land having created a general disposition to provide against any possible enterprises of the French against the capital, the Burgomasters and Regents of the city organized all the sailors and soldiers, as well as the militia, for its defence, and gave the supreme command of the force to De Ruyter. In the course of the winter the Government, in their anxieties to provide against any contingency, requested the Admiral, about the middle of January, to keep afloat in the Zuyder Zee in the Admiralty yacht, in order to reconnoitre the shores of Guelderland and Friesland with a view to the possible operations of the enemy.

De Ruyter goes to the Hague.

1673. The Prince of Orange, in quality of Superior Admiral of the Seven Provinces, requested De Ruyter's assistance in a critical examination of the capacity and experience of the officers to be employed in the naval operations of the year 1673, and as Van Tromp had been always an adherent of the House of Orange, to

Van Tromp restored to command.

which he had attributed the adverse fortune that had visited him, the Stadtholder proposed to restore him to the active functions of a Lieutenant-Admiral in the room of Van Gent, who had fallen at Solebay, but His Highness gave his friend to understand that he would only call him into service on the understanding of his complete reconciliation with De Ruyter. Accordingly the two Admirals, both of them being men of a mild and generous nature, met in the presence of the Prince, and while De Ruyter recommended a forgetfulness of all that had passed, Van Tromp promised to obey implicitly the orders of the Admiral-General. 1673.

On the 9th May the Admiral-General raised his flag at the Goree, and, being shortly joined by the rest of the fleet from the Texel, went to sea with eighty sail under Lieutenant-Admiral Van Nès and Vice-Admirals De Liefde and De Haan. After having made a demonstration of this force in the mouth of the Thames, where he saw a British fleet prepared to oppose any hostile entry, the Admiral-General returned for further reinforcements to the shores of Walcheren, where he was joined, on the 28th May, by the squadron of Lieutenant-Admiral Van Tromp and Vice-Admiral Schram. On the 1st June the Admiral-General again took his fleet to sea for naval exercise, and the same day Van Tromp gave a grand entertainment on board his ship to De Ruyter and the chief officers of the fleet, when a perfect harmony and deferential friendship was displayed; but while they were yet at table news came in that the combined English and French fleets had been sighted with 120 or 130 sail. A communication was forthwith made to the Council of War on shore to learn its pleasure whether the fleet of Holland should await an attack from the enemy at Shoone Valdt, or advance to the rencounter, to which it was replied, "Receive the enemy's attack." The combined fleets proceed to Holland.

On the 7th June (28th May), the anniversary of the battle of Solebay, the fleet being all anchored in

1673. position behind the Flemish shoals, the Admiral-General invited all who chose to receive the Communion on board his flag-ship, and then commanded that the anchors should be raised and all sail set on every ship; while the enemy, in three squadrons, commanded respectively by Prince Rupert, D'Estrées, and Sir Edward Spragge, bore down upon the advance of the Dutch, whose fleet consisted of no more than 100 sail, whereas the allied fleets numbered at least 150. The French squadron on this occasion became the *corps de bataille* in order to satisfy the prejudices of their allies, who declared that at Solebay they had kept aloof in the offing. The battle commenced at one o'clock at noon between D'Estrées and Van Tromp, the two squadrons most to the north of the two fleets. De Ruyter and Bankert received the attack from Prince Rupert, both leading the centre squadrons. The Admiral-General had carried the fleet N.E., and kept this course till about half-past two, when he tacked south, and sent to apprise Van Tromp of this change of direction; but from some cause he could not communicate with that Lieutenant-Admiral, and for fear of separation he again tacked and resumed the original direction. Sir Edward Spragge now fell upon Bankert, who, between his two assailants, lost his foremast and maintop-mast, when De Ruyter carried the "Seven Provinces" to his aid, and by weight of metal delivered him from his tormentors.

Great naval action; the French lead the van.

About six in the evening, all the squadrons had rejoined, and the movements for this purpose in the Dutch fleet excited the admiration of both parties; so that D'Estrées, in his report of the battle to Colbert, said that "he could purchase with his life the glory of De Ruyter for his bravery and skill in the action." The French are reported to have behaved exceedingly well, although it does not appear that they lost above two officers of rank in the fight, while the English lost

High tribute of D'Estrées to the great merit of De Ruyter.

three captains of men-of-war. No vessels are named as captured or burned on either side. But it would be ungenerous to refuse the Hollanders the glory of a substantial victory. The combined fleets attacked De Ruyter at his anchorage with a view to force him from the ground, that the English and French forces might make a descent on the shores of Zealand or Holland, which, under present circumstances, would have endangered the total overthrow of the Dutch Commonwealth. This project the Admiral-General completely and successfully averted, with a fleet much inferior to the combined squadrons. The Dutch fleet anchored on their own ground the very night of the battle, when the English and French sailed away to their own shores quite discomfited, if not worsted. 1673. — The combined fleets failing in their object, return to their own shores.

De Ruyter did not lose a moment in re-organizing his fleet, and the very day after the battle made a requisition for powder, ball, and other necessaries, and in replacing the officers killed or put *hors de combat* by the action; and he personally superintended the refitting by their captains of every thing connected with their ships' equipage, and rendered their anchorage more complete. He so constantly evinced good sense in the minute details of his command, that at this time he was naturally called upon by the Government to determine a question of some intricacy.

Among the offers of volunteers, which arrived from every quarter, was one from 200 French prisoners, principally Protestants, who offered to transfer their allegiance to the States, and the Admiralty suggested that by distributing them in detachments on board the different ships of war, it would enable them to man more vessels by the sailors thus superseded or displaced: but the Admiral-General replied that "it would be impossible to prevent the suspicion attaching to such recruits that they corresponded with the enemy; and, moreover, they might become a school of very great value to a foreign power, if after their apprenticeship De Ruyter refuses the services of French volunteers.

1673. they should return to the French naval service: and he, moreover, recalled to the Government their constant indisposition to admit foreigners into their service, in consequence of the disquietudes they often introduced into their political relations."

Within the week after the battle De Ruyter reported his fleet fit for service, but, as on the previous occasion, he was prevented by the deputies on board his ship from proceeding to sea to attack the enemy, and was required to receive their assault when anchored, for the protection of their own shores; he now formally requested permission from the Council of War, whom he summoned on board his flag-ship, to go out to sea and take the attack; which it was agreed he should be at liberty to do on the 14th June, if no reason of State should require a contrary policy. On the day fixed, prayers having been publicly offered up on every ship of the fleet, it put to sea in search of the combined squadron.

Burnet mentions a circumstance that somewhat reconciles the Dutch account of this encounter with the English. A scheme had been suggested to the allies to attempt a landing of troops on the Dutch coast near the Hague. The attempt was kept so secret that the allied forces appeared unexpectedly at Scheveling, where no preparations existed to prevent the design, but they were obliged to anchor until the next flood tide should carry them to the shore; when, to their amazement, after the ebb set in, De Ruyter came up with it, and discomfited the enterprise, which might have been of fatal consequence to the Dutch. Sir Edward Spragge, with the blue squadron, being nearest to the enemy, and Van Tromp, commanding his advance, they at once fell on one another, and, it is said, fought together for seven hours. The English Admiral obliged the Dutch Lieutenant-Admiral to shift his flag twice, and would have inevitably captured him, but that Vice-Admiral Sweers arrived to his assistance.

De Ruyter again engaged Prince Rupert; and D'Estrées and Bankert, forming the rear of either fleet, were antagonists. The result of the battle, which lasted till nightfall, was that Prince Rupert withdrew into the Thames, and De Ruyter to his old anchorage at Schooneweldt, off the shores of Zealand. 1673. —

Undismayed by the progress of the French arms, and by the assistance of land forces contributed to the land contest by England, the gallant Republic again took the sea in search of the confederate fleets, and came up with them between Petten and Kamperduin (Camperdown), not far from the Helder, on the morning of the 21st August (August 11). By a skilful manœuvre De Ruyter gained the wind upon his adversary during the night, but finding his enemy already in line he signalled to his fleet to form. The arrangement of the opposing fleets was much as in the last battle. Both were composed of three squadrons, Prince Rupert carrying the red flag with Vice-Admiral Herman, and Rear-Admiral Chicheley was in the centre, opposed to the Admiral-General. Sir Edward Spragge, under the blue flag, assisted by Rear-Admiral the Earl of Ossory, confronted Van Tromp; and the Count d'Estrées, with the white squadron, consisting wholly of French, was antagonistic to Bankert. The Dutch fleet consisted of 75 ships of war and frigates, 25 fire-ships, and 18 yachts, comprising altogether 118 sail, with 4312 cannon and nearly 20,000 men. The Confederates were thought to have 150 sail, of which 104 were men-of-war and frigates. The battle commenced along the entire line at half-past nine o'clock. Great battle near the Helder.

The historian of De Ruyter says, "The whole sea was in a blaze; the flakes of fire piercing the clouds of smoke like lightning in a tempest, while a storm of ball, bar-shot, grape, and every kind of projectile pattered and ploughed the ocean like a hurricane. The result of this third naval engagement was

1673. very much like the others. Both sides fought as if there were no mean between death and victory. Admiral Sir Edward Spragge and Captains Sir William Reeves, Le Neve, Hayman, and Merryweather on the side of the English, counterbalanced the loss of Admirals De Liefde and Sweers, and Captains Van Gelder, son-in-law to De Ruyter, Sweerius, Vitcher, and Kiela on the side of the Dutch. No great ship on either side, but on both sides many lesser ones were either burned or sunk. The French did not lose either ships or crews; and it was said that had they answered Prince Rupert's signal to bear down they would have gained a decisive victory. Be that as it may, it may be hazarded that the French in all their naval actions with the Dutch, having always adopted the same manœuvre, probably discovered the quality of their ships to be so superior to the Dutch in the power of sail, that they had only to take the course of the wind and the Hollanders could never bring them to close action.

Great losses in both fleets.

Nevertheless, the same results followed at the last as from the first. The victory was doubtful, and claimed on both sides. "The British made easy sail towards the English coast," and "the Dutch anchored off the Texel at nine o'clock on the morning of the 22nd." On the 24th September of this year De Ruyter struck his flag at Helvoetsluys, and on the 19th February, 1674, peace was concluded at Westminster between the King of Great Britain and the States-General.

Indecisive results of these naval battles.

1674. Peace concluded at Westminster, Feb. 19.

De Ruyter did not become indifferent to his country's glory by the conclusion of peace, for he began at once working hard to restore the efficiency of the Dutch Fleet, which by a new act of the Stadtholder had been committed to his charge, and which at this juncture numbered ninety men-of-war. He therefore presented a memoir to His Highness suggesting the employment of the force by an expedition against the French

Antilles. He showed the facility, if secretly and promptly prepared, of obtaining possession either of Guadaloupe or Grenada, and of the commerce that would be acquired by their capture. The States acceded to this in March, and on the 24th May the fleet in all its bravery quitted Wielingen and took their course down the Channel. The Admiral-General had obtained some information as he touched the English ports on his passage which induced him to send back for more guns and powder and siege material, and he left Tromp in the Channel to bring on these things, when, passing the isles of Madeira and Teneriffe, they reached Martinique on the 8th July. 1674. De Ruyter sails to the West Indies.

Having some suspicions that the French authorities in the West Indies were well prepared for defence, De Ruyter captured a small vessel, and learned that they had been warned from Europe of the intention of the Dutch to attack the island, and that within very few days a dispatch had brought the exact number of ships composing the expedition. They also learned that considerable shipment of colonial produce had been made from the island with a view to save it from the apprehended attack. It may be remarked, although it is a fact well known, that the French are better served than most nations in their secret intelligence. The universality of their spoken language gives them great advantages in this respect; but there is something in the peculiar genius of the French people that makes it "the tongue of friends" all over the world. The authorities at Martinique are warned of the intention of the Dutch.

In some doubt as to where to make a descent, they learned a local saying, that "Quiconque est maître de Cul de Sac a tout le pays en sa puissance;" accordingly they reconnoitred the fort of that name, close to Port Royal, and on the 20th they disembarked 1000 men under Colonel Nitenhove. They found the fort situated in a low vale upon the shore, and defended by a solid rampart, in good order, with strong palisades, strengthened by a perfect network of cane plants, on Failure of the assault on Cul de Sac.

1674. — which were twenty guns mounted, and a garrison of four or five companies, and there were moreover some vessels, drawing little water, armed with cannon to flank the defences. After making several attempts to carry it by assault, the casualties were found to be already 143 killed, and 378 wounded, amongst which were the Colonel, with no less than five wounds, and most of the officers more or less. The expedition was therefore withdrawn to the ships, and a council of war was held to determine further operations. It was resolved to surprise the isle of Dominica; whither the fleet arrived on the 23rd; but after having made a *reconnoissance*, they were convinced that nothing could be successfully attempted, since all were fully informed of the enterprise; therefore De Ruyter decided to carry back the fleet to Europe, and it was accordingly anchored at the Goree on the 1st October.

De Ruyter threatens Dominica; and returns to Holland.

Invitation of Charles II. to De Ruyter.

In the beginning of December the Earls of Arlington and Ossory arrived at Amsterdam, to urge De Ruyter to pass three or four weeks at the Court of His Majesty in England, but not being a courtier, and, moreover, no longer a young man, he excused himself, and declined the honour, preferring to rest a little from the fatigues of active service in the bosom of his family, not knowing how soon his country might call upon him again to raise his flag. Age and a general derangement of his health and his powers began to tell upon him, and this winter he was a considerable sufferer from gout, gravel, and other evils, so that he was forced to keep his bed.

1675. Spain seeks the aid of the States-General.

However, the demand upon his services continued more urgent every day. The King of Spain was very much disturbed by a revolt that broke out in his kingdom of Sicily, and negotiated with the States-General for some naval aid which might counterbalance the extensive fleets of France in the Mediterranean; and His Majesty especially stipulated for the command being given to De Ruyter, whom he regarded as the great captain of the world on the sea. It does not

appear that the Admiral-General at all desired this service, considering that the Spaniards were quite powerful enough to help themselves, and not thinking that Holland was at all called upon to go to the expense of a considerable fleet for a matter so exclusively their own. When twitted by some of his countrymen on getting timid in his old age, he answered, "No, I do not lose courage, and am ready as ever to expose my life for the defence of my country; but I regret to see our Government expose needlessly the honour of our flag." 1675.

On the last days of July, therefore, he raised his flag on the "Concord," and went to sea with the fleet on the 16th August, and reported himself to Don André d'Avola, Admiral of the Spanish Crown at Cadiz, on the 26th September. Some repairs to the ships of his fleet requiring a delay, he was, during his stay, sumptuously entertained at Port St. Mary's by the Duke di Medina Cœli, Prime Minister to the Queen-Regent, who informed him of Her Majesty's desire that he should take a squadron under Don John of Austria under his command; but on his arrival at Algiers, where he expected His Imperial Highness, he found a change of plans, and he accordingly carried the Dutch fleet to Barcelona on the 14th November; where a letter from the young King Charles II. himself awaited him, announcing that he had assumed the Government, and requiring him to await at Barcelona the arrival of Don John, his natural brother. After resting here a fortnight, during which he suffered a severe attack of gout, he received a letter from the young Prince himself, declaring he had apprised the King that the state of his health prevented his repairing aboard the Dutch fleet. Accordingly De Ruyter sailed from the shores of Spain to the island of Sardinia, and thence to Melazzo in Sicily, where he arrived on the 20th December, but found but one Spanish man-of-war

De Ruyter sails to Spain.

De Ruyter sails to Melazzo.

1675. and fourteen galleys composing the entire fleet of Spain! He forthwith put himself in communication with the Viceroy of Sicily; but a great deal of time was thrown away in corresponding, until De Ruyter, desiring to provide for the security of his ships, sent a peremptory order to Vice-Admiral De Haan to join him without tolerating any interruption, and on the 1676. 2nd January, 1676, the Admiral-General assembled the entire Dutch fleet under his orders in the bay.

Tired of inaction, the Admiral-General, having collected his fleet, desired to go in quest of the French fleet, and went to sea, apprising the Viceroy of his intention to cruize as far as the Faro. As they navigated they could see on the shore, near the fort of Ibiso, the troops of the Spaniards and French in furious combat; nevertheless, the Dutch fleet pursued its course to Rasocalmo. Reports, contradictory in themselves, and of very uncertain truth, met him as he sailed along, that a fleet of thirty or forty sail had been seen, and amongst them fourteen very large ships; but it was not until the 7th January that De Ruyter came up with them, and made them out to be the fleet of France, under Le Sieur Du Quesne. He immediately put himself in order of battle, although the French numbered twenty-four ships of war against his eighteen, which were also much larger than his own. The action that now ensued took place on the 8th January, amid the Lipari islands, between Stromboli and Salino. The Marquis d'Humieres and Admiral De Gabaret assisted Du Quesne, and Rear-Admiral Vershon and Vice-Admiral De Haan supported De Ruyter. It was remarked by those who witnessed the engagement that both sides came into order in the most perfect manner possible, and opened fire simultaneously at ten at morn of the 8th. De Ruyter describes the combat that ensued as the roughest he had ever witnessed. The fire continued incessantly for three hours, when Du Quesne ordered De Tourville to direct

Action with Du Quesne.

a fire-ship to bear down on the Admiral-General; but this was speedily dismasted by De Ruyter's cannon, and a second and a third had no better fortune. 1676.

The French Admiral, therefore, seeing that he could do nothing against the flag-ship, thought to cut off the Admiral-General from Vice-Admiral De Haan, and ordered De Tourville, with Gabaret, to conduct four ships in the space between them; but in the combat that ensued one of these four ships was sunk; and the fight ended on both sides at nightfall. Vice-Admiral Vershon was killed on the side of the Dutch, but, singular to relate, no other officer whatever received the slightest wound. In the flag-ship were seven of the crew killed and thirty wounded; but no list of the casualties of the fleet in this action has been preserved. The "Ast" Dutch line-of-battle ship received so bad a wound between wind and water that the Spanish galleys were ordered to tow her into Palermo, but she sunk before she could reach that port. On the day following the action the Spanish Admiral, the Prince de Montesarchio, who had just come in from Palermo, wrote in the true Spanish-Don spirit to inquire "what advice De Ruyter would give him for the squadron under his command; his own opinion being to follow the French before they could enter Messina, and oblige them to continue at sea." The Admiral-General immediately wrote on the back of the letter, that "he quite approves of what D'Avola suggests, which cannot fail to be suitable to the service of His Catholic Majesty."

On the 11th a squadron of twelve large ships, besides frigates, joined the French fleet; and De Ruyter, considering the danger of such a reinforcement of the enemy, took the opinion of a Council of War, held on the 12th, which, seeing that the French fleet numbered forty ships of war and the Dutch only twelve, with five frigates, decided on retiring to the harbour of Melazzo in concert with the Spanish squadron; where, accord-

1676. — ingly, both fleets anchored on the 18th January. It appears that after the battle of the 8th the French fleet, most unaccountably, made the entire circuit of the island of Sicily, and on the 21st anchored at Messina. As De Ruyter had received no instructions from home as to the direction of this service, he apprised the Spanish Viceroy and Admiral of his intention to return to Holland; against which they so loudly protested that De Ruyter determined to stop at Naples, where he anchored on the 11th February. Here he received his letters, and, in consequence of the communication made by the Stadtholder, and the representations of the Spanish Viceroy that he should be joined by a Spanish fleet, the Admiral-General returned on the 19th to Palermo, where he gave orders that all his ships should receive orders to join his flag.

De Ruyter resolves to return to Holland, but receives letters from home.

On 23rd February De Ruyter, with a fleet of fourteen sail, anchored in the Bay of Palermo. His flag-ship, however, made so much water on the voyage that he was obliged to careen her behind the Mole to examine her bottom, and this occupied all the time till the 14th March, when he removed into the bay, where he was joined by Vice-Admiral Don Francisco de la Cerda with ten sail, and both fleets took their course to Melazzo. De Ruyter kept his 70th birthday on the 24th; on which day he received a summons from the Marquis de Vagona to repair to the Faro, where an army was assembling near Ibiso, to make a concentrated attack on Messina. The Admiral-General dropped anchor off the Calabrian shore on the 27th; but, on reconnoitring the port, he saw clearly that the current down the Faro would severely incommode any attempt he could make upon Messina by water. Nevertheless the Viceroy urged the attempt, and De Ruyter would have done so, but that, on the 29th, the Spaniards had encountered a severe defeat on land, near the Convent of San Salvador, in which the Count de Bucquoi

Defeat of the Spaniards on land.

was killed. In consequence of this success, the French fleet came out from the port of Messina, and ranged themselves outside under the fire of the castles. De Ruyter immediately set his sails to tempt his adversaries out to sea, but De Tourville would not accept the challenge, and, accordingly, the confederate fleets sailed down the Faro, and cruized to the southward, opposite La Scaletta, till 1st April, when bad weather obliged them to run for the protection of the bay of St. John, on the Calabrian coast. Here they had leisure to consider what could be done against the enemy. It was the judgment of the Admiral-General, that it was not possible to attack the port of Messina on account of the dangerous currents in the Straits, and an expedition was suggested against Augusta, near Syracuse; accordingly, the Dutch fleet entered that bay on the 20th. Here De Ruyter received intelligence from De Vagona that the French fleet was at sea, and it was reported they had been seen off Catania. The Admiral-General, accordingly, advised that the confederate fleet should go at once to meet the enemy, and, with this view, left Augusta on the 21st; and he had scarcely quitted port when he sighted them on the northern horizon at sunrise on the 22nd. 1676.

As soon, therefore, as they came under observation it was found that the French fleet had thirty ships of war, three frigates, and several fire-ships; while the Spanish and Dutch fleets united could only show seventeen ships of war, and about a dozen smaller sail, including four fire-ships. Moreover, De Ruyter's intelligencers had apprised him that, during the time the French fleet had rested at Messina, the greatest exertions had been made to equip their vessels with ammunition and every requisite, so that their ships were thought to be in excellent trim, mounting 2172 guns, with a force of 10,665 men; whereas the Dutch fleet had only 852 cannon and 4500 sailors. The Spanish fleet, perhaps, numbered ten sail more;

1676. but, by their own confession, they were all badly found; their flag-ship, indeed, "Nuestra Señora del Pilar," was a fine ship of war, with a crew of 740, and 70 guns, but the rest were scarcely able to be kept afloat, much less to fight.

De Ruyter again encounters Du Quesne.

Both fleets at sight of each other bore down, the one upon the other, but at noon there fell a great calm, so that it appeared unlikely that they could engage, notwithstanding all the skill and appliances of sail. Nevertheless, about four o'clock on the 22nd, the allies got into something of a line, and De Ruyter came first into fire with the French flag-ship of General d'Almeras, and kept it up so incessantly, as did all the most advanced of the war-ships, that it was said that Mount Etna, who looked on, would become jealous of these *ignes minores*. Don Francisco de la Cerda, however, with the Spanish ships, kept so much aloof that the Admiral-General was obliged to urge them to closer combat, for Vice-Admiral Haan, in his endeavour to support them, was necessitated to leave such a gap between the Dutch squadrons that there was great apprehension that the French Admiral would divide his entire fleet into three separate parts, and force some of his ships between them. With the usual bravado of the Don, the only reply was, "If God's power could be wielded by his sword, he would be soon up with the Admiral." The flag-ships of De Ruyter and D'Almeras had not been engaged above half an hour when, as the Admiral-General stood upon the lofty poop of the flag-ship, watching the progress of the action and giving his orders, a cannon-shot struck both his legs, carrying off the front part of his left foot, and breaking the right leg bone just above the ankle. The violence of the blow threw him down to the deck, a height of seven or eight feet (for the ship's stern of those days was an elevated stage), and he fell flat upon his head, on which he received an ugly wound. His Flag-captain Kallemburg knew his chief

De Ruyter wounded.

better than to turn aside from his duty, even to go to his assistance; and, crying out, "Courage, my brave men, and so shall we have the victory!" he went forward at once to direct the engagement with so much spirit that the crew did not know that the Admiral-General was wounded; and with so much effect did the flag-captain fight the flag-ship that the French Admiral, D'Almeras, was also killed, and the Spanish Admiral coming up at the moment, as good as his word, the battle was maintained into the night and continued even by the light of the moon. De Haan contended bravely with the squadron of Gabaret. At nightfall, however, Du Quesne resolved to return with the French fleet to the Faro; while De Ruyter, on learning this, was still able to direct that the allied fleets should make for Syracuse. Here the Admiral-General immediately wrote his despatches to the Prince of Orange and the King of Spain, while his wounds were fresh; they are still extant under his own signature, dated respectively the 26th and 28th, and the last, to the Spanish King Charles, was answered by a grant of the title of Duke, and of an estate in Italy of the value of 2000 ducats of rent—which royal concession, however, never brightened the eyes of the hero, to whom we will now turn our attention [1].

1676.

Bravery of Captain Kallemburg.

Du Quesne returns to Faro.

At first there was reasonable hope that De Ruyter might recover, as the wounds were not accompanied by fever; but on the fifth day this was superinduced in the right leg, and could never afterwards be kept down; and he died between nine and ten at night on the 29th April, in the presence of all the principal officers of the fleet. His body was immediately embalmed, and kept ready to be transmitted to Holland by the first opportunity. The bowels were necessarily re-

Death of De Ruyter.

[1] When some person was congratulating Louis XIV. upon De Ruyter's death, telling him that he had now got rid of a most dangerous enemy, he replied, "Every one should grieve at the death of so great a man."

1676. moved, and a request made to the Ecclesiastical authorities of Syracuse that it might be permitted that they should be interred with honour in one of their churches; but with rather a ridiculous judgment—which every one in these days will lament and condemn—they replied that as the bowels constituted a part of the living body, which was that of one who was not of the communion of the Church of Rome, they could not be buried in holy ground without the permission of the Pope. The magistrates of the city, nevertheless, with astonishing boldness and liberality for the seventeenth century, offered to find a burial-place for them.

Vice-Admiral De Haan succeeded to the charge of the fleet; and, having hoisted his flag on the flag-ship, the "Seven Provinces," ordered the body of the Admiral-General to be transported on board the "Concord," and quitted Syracuse on 6th May, taking his course to Palermo along the southern shores of Sicily, so that it was the 15th before the fleet cast anchor in the Bay of Palermo. Du Quesne, on hearing this intelligence at Messina, went to sea with a large fleet, and on the 28th formed a line before the bay; where, on the 2nd, the French fell upon the confederate fleets with all their fire-ships. The flag-ship of Don Diego d'Ibdaca, the "Nuestra Señora del Pilar" (for De la Cerda had been superseded, but served still as a volunteer), was the first to be set on fire, and was burned to the water's edge—both the Spanish Admirals meeting death in the flames of their ships with the greatest resolution. The "Concord," with De Ruyter's body on board, was nearly consumed, but his sacred remains were saved by the exertions of all the fleet. In the battle Admiral de Haan had his head carried off by a cannon-ball, and Middellsendt, the second in command, only escaped from the fire by jumping into the sea, where he was drowned. Complaints were very justly made by the Dutch that the Spanish batteries did not open a single gun upon the assailants

Du Quesne attacks the Dutch and Spanish fleets.

Great losses of the Dutch and Spanish.

during this work of destruction; nevertheless, their exertions hindered the French fleet from attempting to force an entrance with their ships, and, therefore, when the French Admiral had used up all his fire-ships he carried his fleet back to Messina; while Kallemburg took the command of all the Dutch ships that remained with the rank of Admiral. The shattered state of the fleet, and the frequent changes of late in its Commanding-Admirals, rendered it necessary to await orders from home before going again to sea, and the Chaplain of the flag-ship was put on the Italian shore to make the best of his way by land to Holland, which, with all his exertions, he did not reach till the 27th June. In the meantime Admiral Kallemburg took advantage of a propitious moment to quit Palermo, and, on the 20th August, anchored with his sacred charge in the Bay of Naples. Here on the 4th September Rear-Admiral Van Almonde arrived, accompanied by the Chaplain, having made their journey overland, bearing instructions to carry the fleet to Holland. He hoisted his flag on board the "Concord," which reached the Dutch coast on the 10th December. 1676. — The Dutch fleet returns to Holland.

Immediately on the receipt of the sad intelligence of the death of the Admiral-General, the States-General had resolved that the body should, whenever it might arrive, be honourably interred at Amsterdam at the public expense, and that a marble monument should be erected in honour of his signal exploits in war. Owing to the severity of the frost, however, it was impossible to carry the body into Helvoetsluys till the 1st February, 1677, but on the 4th, the body was removed to the state barge of the Admiralty, covered with black cloth and naval flags, under salvos of artillery from all the vessels in the port, as well as from the twenty guns of the "Concord;" however, owing to the weather, it was the 16th before the body of the Admiral could find its domicile once more in his Funeral of De Ruyter. 1677.

1677. — own house at Amsterdam. Arrangements were forthwith made for as noble a funeral as could be prepared; and on Thursday, 18th March, the remains of Adriansz Michel de Ruyter, Duke, Chevalier, and Lieutenant-Admiral-General of Holland and East Friesland, found its last resting-place in the vault below the choir of the New Church at Amsterdam. A mural monument by Robert Verhulst has been erected in the church under which the body of De Ruyter lies buried. It represents the Admiral-General reposing under the protection of Tritons. The States-General, in their vote, limited the sculptor not to exceed 10,000 livres in the execution of the monument; so that, like Dr. Primrose's family picture, the artist was obliged to put in as many ('oranges') banners, coats-of-arms, &c., as he could for the money.

Piety and humility of De Ruyter

De Ruyter was of an extraordinary simplicity of character, which had not been in the least affected by his great prosperity in life. Whenever flattered he would remind the speaker that he feared to be abandoned by God, as Herod Agrippa was, if he took to himself such praises; "I desire," he would say, "to be neither praised nor ever named, if I can but satisfy my conscience in the execution of the orders I receive; for it is not I, but the gift of God that is by me, that makes me to succeed in any thing." A deep sense of piety pervaded every action of his life, so that when he was reminded of his wife and child in his last agonies, he replied, "They would overwhelm me if I saw them with bitter tears over my sufferings; but I am at the post of duty to which God has called me, and if He be now pleased to call me out of the world I look to be rejoined to them hereafter, in joy and everlasting felicity." The metaphor of waters so familiar in the Psalms were constantly recurring to his memory, and he would exclaim, "Deep calleth unto deep at the voice of Thy waterspouts; all Thy waves and Thy billows are gone over me." His character has been

thus summed up by an English biographer:—"In a word, De Ruyter was the most upright man; the most devout and pious Christian; the bravest, wisest, and most experienced leader; so good and patriotic a citizen of his country, that it is with justice he is regarded by all posterity as the ornament of his age, a great naval hero, and a most redoubtable warrior." 1677.

His personal appearance.

In person he was of middle stature, of a thick-set and rather ordinary figure; but he was of a strong constitution, rather preferring salt meat to fresh, and, without any difference to his digestion, thriving on it; he was equal to any amount of work. He was of a sanguine complexion, which heightened in colour as he became weather-beaten. His eyes were brown, and had much fire in them; he rarely lost his temper, yet he could be most severe at times; as he proved towards one who, in his presence, spoke disrespectfully of some of the sovereigns he had served; when, having warned him that he would not suffer such language in his presence, and being disobeyed, he seized the offender by the collar and threw him into the sea! It is not unusual for successful men to be popular with their followers, but there was a quiet good sense and rough condescension about the Admiral-General that brought the sailors to love him, and he was called, commonly, "kind old father." In council he was generally calm, but somewhat impatient at the quantity of work which his high commands imposed upon him, so that he would say, "I was a happier man when I was earning sixpence a day in the rope-walk, and had time to myself." He was, however, always cheerful in society, sharing in the railleries and jokes of his associates, whether they were above or below him; and, without any loss of respect, he was quite at his ease with all men and women, great or small.

I confess to my inability to show, with any correctness, the naval abilities of De Ruyter, nor to dis-

1677. criminate in what degree they were to be measured by the maritime skill of his great predecessor, Martin Tromp. We have seen in the biography of that distinguished Admiral that his tactics were to introduce line-fighting in supercession of the single combat of single ships which had prevailed to his time. It appears to me that maritime war had again become monotonous in its result, for we see that De Ruyter followed the same course of battle in every action he fought. He always divided his fleet into three squadrons, which were respectively commanded by three Lieutenant-Admirals, of which he took himself the supreme command from his flag-ship in the midst of the centre squadron; while the other two, on whatever tack they sailed, were regarded as Advance or Rearguard.

Naval tactics in De Ruyter's time confined to fighting in three squadrons.

But, as his enemies appear to have always adopted the same divisions, the battle degenerated into three distinct single conflicts, which cannonaded each other for hours together[1]. The only novelty in his engagements was the more frequent use of fire-ships, which did the greatest mischief that was accomplished in his days; for it was of very uncommon occurrence to attempt to carry an antagonist by boarding, although it was occasionally attempted. The peculiar quality of our Admiral-General was a dogged resolution to go to sea and meet his enemy, without any regard to disproportionate force, and to hammer away with all his might till darkness made it necessary to take breath. Generally the conclusion was the same; one or other combatant withdrew to their havens, and both sides claimed laurels with nearly equal reason. The nearest approach to victory made by De Ruyter was what is termed, in

[1] The division of the fleet into squadrons, red, white, and blue, has been continued in our own fleets to our own times; but this distinction of squadrons has, I believe, been very recently abolished in the British fleet.

the inscription on his monument, the "Quatriduana pugna," when it was undoubtedly true that he thwarted the attempt of England and France to effect a landing on his country's shore. The Dutch Admiral-General must have been infinitely a better seaman from his bringing up than either of the commanding Admirals who at any time opposed him. The Dukes of York and Albemarle, Prince Rupert, and Count D'Estrées had not been in situations to have much studied the winds, and currents, and soundings of the ocean; and, therefore, we never read of much strategy in the movements and manœuvring of their fleets. Such experiences were, to the last, greatly to the favour of the Dutch Admiral-General, who had been nearly sixty years at sea, had served in five distinct wars, in more than forty engagements, and in fifteen pitched battles [1]. 1677. —

[1] La Vie de Michel de Ruyter, traduite du Hollandais de Gérard Brandt; The Life of Admiral de Ruyter, printed at London, 1677; Vie de Michel Ruiter, par Richer, 1783; Lediard's Naval History of England; Hennequin, Biographie Maritime, Paris, 1838; Biographical Dictionaries and General History; Drames Maritimes, par Eugène Sue.

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EDWARD MONTAGU, EARL OF SANDWICH.

AN ENGLISH ADMIRAL.

Born 1625. Died 1672.

1625. Birth of Edward Montagu.

THIS distinguished Admiral, General, and Statesman was the only surviving son of Sir Sidney Montagu, younger son of Edward Lord Montagu, of Boughton, and was born in 1625. His father, Sir Sidney, and his kinsman, the eldest son of the peer, are both named by Clarendon as acting in favour of the King; and it is said that every exertion was made to restrain Edward within the same limits, but, having married young Jemima Crewe, he found himself in a family of contrary principles, and was persuaded, when he was little more than twenty years of age, to raise a regiment, and to carry it to the army of Fairfax, which had been just new-modelled, and in which he was given the rank of Colonel. He served under that leader in the battles of Marston Moor and Naseby.

Serves under Fairfax.

During the contest he acquitted himself with great courage at the storming of Lincoln, the battles of Marston Moor and Naseby, and on other occasions, before he had arrived at his twentieth year, "with the reputation of a very stout and sober young man;" and he was persuaded to take a command in the army when it was new modelled under Fairfax; in consequence of which conduct he was taken notice of by Cromwell, who trusted him with his nearest confidence. He sat in his third Parliament for the county of Huntingdon, and was given a seat in his Board of Treasury. 1645. —

In 1656 he was joined by the Protector in the commission of Admiral of the fleet with Blake, and went to sea with him in the expedition into the Mediterranean. Colonel Montagu was now in his thirtieth year, and, consequently, he was too far advanced in life to learn practical seamanship (for which Collingwood deemed the age of nineteen "far too late"); but the military discipline of the school of Cromwell, in which both Montagu and Monk had imbibed the principles of command, was very much in advance of what existed afloat at that time, either under English or Dutch Admirals, for, as late as De Ruyter and Cloudesley Shovel, they rarely fought a battle without shooting one or two captains of ships for disobedience. The well-proved valour of our gallant tars has always required the firmest hand to maintain discipline until called upon to lead their naval heroism into action. Montagu was second in command under Blake in the consort expedition of Penn and Venables, 1657; and when Blake's health obliged him to return home Montagu became General of the fleet, the object of which was to watch the expected arrival of the Spanish West India fleet; and on this first essay of serving at sea he had the good fortune to engage and scatter the enemy's galleons, and to capture the Admiral. Whitelock relates, that on this occasion the Spanish flag-ship and another were run ashore and sunk, two burned, and 1656. 1657. Succeeds Blake as General of the fleet; and makes some rich prizes.

1657. one taken, in which there were two millions of silver, and it was believed there had been as much destroyed with the Admiral's ship, so that the poet sung—

> "With these returns victorious Montagu,
> With laurels in his hand and half Peru."
>
> WALLER.

Montagu sent with the fleet to Denmark by Cromwell.

One of the last acts of the Protector had been to nominate Montagu to the command of a fleet in the Sound; but Admiral Lawson was at the time the Admiral of the fleet of the Commonwealth, and as he was known to be an outrageous Anabaptist, the Presbyterian party desired to eclipse him, and therefore let Montagu depart for the Baltic. Here it was thought by those about the King that he might be tampered with, after the fall of Richard Cromwell, so as to get his fleet to declare for Charles II. because he was suspected; and, accordingly, the Parliament provided him with a colleague, in Algernon Sidney, that might keep him straight. Desirous, however, to return to England, Montagu caused it to be represented to the King of Denmark that "he should not be able to stay any longer at Copenhagen for the want of victual," and, without further notice, or taking any leave, he carried off his fleet under sail; but when he arrived near the coast he heard that the King's designs had failed by the overthrow of Sir Goorge Booth, who had compromised himself and been sent to prison. On landing he learned that his colleague, Algernon Sidney, had been before him, and had laid a charge against him in the Parliament. He, therefore, set out immediately, and, taking his seat in that assembly, defended his conduct so ably and with so much plausibility that he escaped scot-free in his person, although he was dismissed from his command.

Montagu dismissed from the command.

Montagu at once retired to his own house in the country, somewhat "under a cloud," and, therefore,

"concluded to be inclined to the King," so that when Monk had marched to Whitehall the party of the King exerted their influence to call him forth to resume the command of the fleet, "in which he might take care for good officers and seamen," and for ships of whose captains he might be sure, and "observe, if not reform, the rest." He immediately entered into close communication with Monk, and was conjoined with him as Admiral of the fleet, although it was known that Montagu alone would go to sea. Whilst the fleet was preparing the Admiral "sent privately over to the King for his approbation," which was speedily conveyed to him. All things being now completed for King Charles' reception on board, the fleet passed to Scheveling, and communicated direct to His Majesty at the Hague; and the next day the Admiral gave over the command to the Duke of York, who had been created by His Majesty Lord High Admiral. The Duke of Gloucester accompanied the Duke of York on board the "Naseby," and dined there. Charles II. came on board Montagu's flag-ship, and, the same evening, set sail for England.

1657. — Is again appointed to command the fleet.

1660.

As soon as the King was landed at Dover the Admiral carried the fleet to the Downs, and, while there, he received a visit from the Garter King-at-Arms, who had been commanded by the King to deliver the blue ribbon to Montagu, who was the first Commoner who had for a great many years received the Garter. A few weeks later the patent was signed, creating him Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchinbrooke, and Baron Montagu of St. Neots. In the following year the new Earl was entrusted with the command of a fleet appointed to bring Queen Catherine of Braganza to be married in England, and to take possession of Tangier, which was part of the bride's dower. But the Admiral had high and important duties to perform before his instructions allowed him to receive on board the royal bride. He was ordered to

Montagu created Earl of Sandwich; and sent to Portugal to bring Catherine of Braganza to England.

1661. proceed to Algiers, where, as ever, there was a necessity of coming to an understanding with the pirates, who had done great mischief to English commerce; but he found them so well prepared that he was under the necessity of coming away *re infectâ*, although he took possession of Tangier in the name of his Sovereign, and arrived in the Tagus at a most opportune moment. A Spanish army threatened Lisbon, and had begun to besiege a seaport town not far from that capital; but the terror caused by the arrival of an English fleet caused the Spanish forces to retire with precipitation; and the bridal Queen of England enjoyed the proud satisfaction that she had greatly assisted to preserve the crown of Portugal to her family. Accordingly, the arrival of Lord Sandwich was celebrated with the greatest manifestations of joy by the whole nation, whose freedom was thus established on the same footing on which it yet stands secure.

His opportune arrival relieves Lisbon.

The Earl brought with him credentials, as Ambassador Extraordinary from His Britannic Majesty, to conduct the Queen to England, and letters from Charles II., full of tender and endearing expressions. Nothing but fêtes, rejoicings, and illuminations attended His Excellency's reception; but after a time he had to be made acquainted with the melancholy fact that the expenses of the Spanish war and the public solemnization of the marriage had so embarrassed the finances of the latter kingdom, that the Queen-Regent was unable to fulfil the condition of paying down the half-million of money that was portion of the marriage contract. With the chivalry of a kind-hearted and gallant sailor, Montagu signified that he considered the lady of more value than her dowry, and would take charge of Her Majesty on board with half the money, rather than leave her behind. Accordingly, every thing being now arranged, the Royal Catherine, on 23rd April, went in full state with her mother and her two brothers to the Cathedral, where a high service was performed

Sandwich gallantly extricates the Queen Regent from a great embarrassment.

to the whole court; the English Ambassador and her other English attendants being politely requested "to walk in the cloisters" during the performance of mass, after which she ascended the side of the "Royal Charles," 80, and was conducted to her cabin. The fleet, consisted of fourteen men-of-war, but the wind was inauspicious, and it therefore remained in port with their fair charge on board, till the morning of the 25th, when it succeeded in getting out to sea. The passage was long and stormy, but Catherine showed herself a brave sailor, and preserved her courage and composure during the entire voyage. On arriving off the Isle of Wight the Duke of York met the fleet with a squadron of five frigates, and on the 13th May the Queen landed at Portsmouth. Lord Sandwich has left this letter to Lord Clarendon on record: "The Queen Catherine, as soon as she came to her lodgings, received the Countess of Suffolk, appointed to be her principal lady, and appointed her other ladies to attend her in the morning to come and put her in that habit they thought would be most pleasing to the king." Unfortunately, however, the Queen was attacked with sore-throat and fever, that confined her to her bed; and it was five days after her arrival that her affianced lord was permitted to seek her; and even on the 19th, when he quitted London, Her Majesty was still in her room, and the Earl of Sandwich, in order to satisfy Charles's impatience to see his wife, had the honour of introducing her to her husband in her bed-chamber. On the day following she found herself so much amended that she got up; and on the 21st the marriage took place.

1661. —

Queen Catherine lands at Portsmouth.

When the war broke out, in 1664, Montagu was given the command of the blue squadron under the Duke of York, and he raised his flag on the "Prince," 86, and went to sea with the fleet before the arrival of the Lord High Admiral. On the 1st June the English fleet weighed anchor; but the Dutch fleet,

1664. Sandwich commands under the Duke of York.

1664. — under the Admiral-General Opdam, had sailed from Holland on the 13th and 14th of the preceding month, so that it was on the 3rd June, at half-past three in the morning, that they met, when immediately the battle began. The Earl of Sandwich with his squadron formed the second line, with thirty-six ships of all kinds. The Duke of York signalled from the flag-ship what he claimed for his share of the battle, saying, "He would himself have a bout with Opdam." Sandwich had with him Admiral Sir George Ayscough, with whom, about noon, he broke the centre of the Dutch fleet with his squadron, and threw their whole line into such confusion as greatly contributed to the victory; and, from a distance, he perceived the Dutch flag-ship blow up. Besides Opdam, the Admiral-General of Holland, Lieutenant-Admirals Cortenaer and Stellingworf, with Vice-Admiral Schram, were slain on the part of the Dutch. About twenty-four of the ships of the enemy were taken, burnt, and sunk, and 2500 prisoners brought home. The Dutch were chased to the mouth of the Texel; when the Duke and Prince Rupert quitted the fleet and returned to Court. To the Earl of Sandwich, Vice-Admiral, was justly given the chief honour of the day, and, if it had been left to him, he would have followed up the victory with so much vigour that the Dutch fleet would have been totally ruined; as it was, he kept to sea with the fleet, and, with the standard borne aboard his flag-ship, took his course, the day after the battle, to Holland; for the Earl had been named, on the declaration of war, Lieutenant-Admiral to the Duke of York, which gave him the rank of Vice-Admiral of England. The States-General, in order to secure their merchantmen homeward bound from Smyrna and the East Indies, sent out to warn them to retire north until a convoy could be despatched to protect them. Sandwich, getting information of this, carried his fleet to the coast of Norway, where, on the 3rd September,

Sandwich defeats the Dutch with great loss, and chases them to the Texel.

he came across the Dutch fleet near Berghen, which had been scattered by a storm, so that with little difficulty he captured four men-of-war, three East Indiamen, and seven merchantmen; after which the Vice-Admiral returned to England with the prizes. 1664.

There was so much "envy, hatred, and malice" in all affairs of trust and confidence at the period of the Restoration that we must conclude, from a letter from the Earl of Sandwich to Mr. Pepys, that his lordship was in some measure victimized in the material benefits of this success; for, he writes, "If anybody has taken security from them upon seizure, remand the security in my name, and return their answer. Carry it high; and own nothing of baseness and dishonour, but rather intimate that I shall know who have done me indignities."

It remained to settle the command of the fleet for the ensuing year, and the Duke of York's conduct in the battle having been much censured, the King saw it necessary that His Royal Highness should retire from the fleet. The two royal brothers then put their heads together to scheme the command, and, although the Earl of Sandwich was naturally the proper person to take the place of the Duke, they thought this might be turned to the prejudice of the Lord High Admiral, and accordingly they determined that the Earl of Sandwich should not continue in it, and he was named Ambassador to the Most Catholic King, and Prince Rupert and Monk were instituted joint Generals of the fleet.

1668. Sandwich sent as Ambassador to Spain.

The eminent character of Lord Sandwich contributed greatly to the success of his mission; he was received with unbounded respect by the Court of Spain, and that of Portugal also placed the most perfect reliance on his firmness, integrity, and abilities. He remained in this employment with high honour to himself and to his country for upwards of a year, and having at length settled affairs to the satisfaction of all parties, he returned to England in September, 1668,

1668. — and was received by the King and the Duke of York with signal marks of consideration. The Earl was now placed at the head of a Board that had been recently constituted for the government and regulation of Trade and Plantations, but on the death of the 1670. Duke of Albermarle, in 1670, he was very generally regarded as the man best fitted for any naval command in the event of a war, since he commanded more than any living man the confidence and affection of the sailors.

1672. France and England declare war against the United Provinces. On the 17th March King Charles II. published a declaration of war against the United Provinces, and on the same day the like was published by Louis XIV., both Sovereigns giving the most false and frivolous reasons to justify so flagrant a violation of the peace of Europe. The two fleets of England and France coalesced about the beginning of May—the first consisting of 100, and the last of 40, men-of-war—under the supreme command of the Duke of York, with the Earl of Sandwich and the Count d'Estrées commanding the blue and white squadrons under him.

On the 28th May De Ruyter put to sea with a formidable fleet, consisting of 91 ships of war and 44 fire-ships; and the Dutch Admiral-General was assisted in his command by Cornelius De Witt, the Pensionary's brother, as deputy from the States. The combined fleets lay at Solebay, on the east coast of England, in a very careless and negligent anchorage, and the Earl of Sandwich thought it his duty to bring this to the notice of the Lord High Admiral, in order to show the great danger they were in of being surprised by the Dutch. But His Royal Highness, who was of a high and presumptuous carriage, slighted the advice, and told the Earl that "he spoke out of fear." The gallant Vice-Admiral of England resisted the imputation indignantly, but it is thought that the charge festered in his heart and led him to be more careless of his safety in the impending battle than he need to have

The Duke of York insults Sandwich.

been. At break of day of the 7th June the Dutch fleet came in sight of the anchorage of the British fleet, and the sudden appearance of the enemy created very great confusion. Every one repaired to his post with precipitation, but many ships were obliged to cut their cables in order to get ready. Sandwich was first on the alert, and the whole fleet was again visibly indebted to him for its safety. He hastened first out of the bay, when it had been easy for De Ruyter to have sent in his fire-ships and destroyed both fleets, which were much crowded together; but this bold proceeding, followed as he was by all the best ships of the English fleet, gave time to the Duke of York to disengage the ships from their perilous anchorage and get to sea. There was but little time for it, for De Ruyter had began to make the attack vigorously, and at seven or eight o'clock the Dutch flag-ship, red at the main, was seen bearing down upon the Lord High Admiral. The "Seven Provinces" and the "Prince" came together with a fearful crash of artillery, and "a smoke rose up about them as though it had been the smoke of a furnace." John Van Braekel, commanding the "Holland," ran on board the "Royal James," Montagu's flag-ship, although it was not in his opposing squadron, and tried to board it several times, but in vain; and the English Vice-Admiral sunk several fire-ships that were at the same time launched against his vessel. He then encountered Admiral Van Gent in the "Dauphin;" and in the bloody fight that ensued the Dutch Admiral and one of their most distinguished officers were killed. While this contest was at its height Vice-Admiral Sweers came up to the "Royal James," conducting a fire-ship, called "Peace," which succeeded in fixing grapples on the flag-ship, which was already so torn in pieces with shot that the water was rushing into her hold, and there seemed nothing to choose for its commander between being burnt or sunk. In this crisis Sandwich was warned by his

1672.

Sandwich saves the fleet.

Gallant conduct and death of Sandwich.

1672. — Captain, Sir Edward Haddock, to make his escape from the ship, but he answered, "I see how things are going, but I am resolved to perish with my ship." Placing a handkerchief before his eyes he descended to his cabin and stubbornly embraced his fate. It is believed that the ship went down suddenly without having exploded, because the water had already drowned the magazine[1].

The body of the Earl of Sandwich was not recovered for nearly a fortnight after the battle. On the 10th June it was seen floating on the sea, being known by the star of the Garter embroidered on his coat. Upon notice of this His Majesty, out of princely and affectionate regard to the noble Admiral, gave orders that his body should be brought to London, and receive the rites of burial in a manner due to his great quality and merit. It was laid in the most solemn manner in a sumptuous barge, and brought to Westminster, attended by the King's barges, those of the Lord Mayor, and several of the City Companies, the Duke of York and several of the nobility attending. On passing the Tower the great guns there were all discharged in a general salute, the trumpets and other music mingling their strains with the noise of artillery and of the bells from all the churches. At five it reached the stairs at Westminster, and, being lifted out and landed, was carried in procession to the Abbey Church with the highest magnificence. The son of the brave Admiral, having become Earl of Sandwich, attended as chief mourner, and eight Earls supported the pall when the solemn service of the Church committed the body to interment in the vault, adjoining to where they after-

His funeral.

[1] Burnet says, "He would not leave his ship by a piece of obstinate courage, to which he was provoked by an indecent reflection the Duke made, or an advice he had offered of drawing nearer to the shore and avoiding an engagement, as if in that he took more care of himself than of the King's honour."

wards laid the Duke of Albemarle's coffin, in the north side of Henry VII.'s Chapel. 1672.

Horace Walpole says of our Admiral, that "he bore one of the most beautiful characters in history, all parties agreeing that his virtues were equal to his valour and abilities." Clarendon says that he was carried into the party against the King by being married into a family that "trod awry," and by the caresses of Cromwell. He was, without any doubt, a great admirer of Cromwell, and so devoted to his interests that he would have acquiesced in the endeavour to persuade the Protector to assume the crown. In his whole political career there were the strongest inconsistencies, for, having contributed to overturn the throne, he served the Usurper and his son to the last; and yet, for his slow services at the Restoration, he obtained the greatest rewards and honours from the King, while those who had adhered to the royal cause through all its vicissitudes, were neglected and passed over. There cannot, however, be any difference of opinion as to his military career, which evinced on all occasions the utmost courage and skill. Although he adopted the naval service late in his days, yet his innate and high courteous bearing made him so great a favourite with the sailors; that when he devoted himself to certain death by remaining on board his ship, when he might have saved himself, not one of his crew would accept the choice, and all went down with him. We cannot but lament such a devotion of brave and gallant hearts lost to the service of their country. The heroism of antiquity cannot even rival it: but when, as in the example before us, the self-immolation is a consequence of personal attachment, we rest astonished at the extent to which the hearts of the brave can carry their affections [1].

His character.

Devotion of his crew.

[1] Clarendon, Burnet, Chalmers, Rapin, Hume, Walpole; Lediard's Naval History of England and Naval Biographies, *passim*, &c.

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ABRAHAM, MARQUIS DU QUESNE,

LIEUTENANT-GÉNÉRAL DES ARMÉES NAVALES DE FRANCE.

Born 1610. Died 1688.

Du Quesne's father.

THIS distinguished Admiral owed all the glory of his career under God to himself, for his rude forefathers of the hamlet of Blaguy (near to Eu) in Normandy, were poor Calvinists of no higher occupation than pilots. His father, called by the same name of Abraham, was probably a fisherman, and a pilot, but he had acquired such renown that he was summoned from his mean occupation by no less a person than Queen Christine of Sweden; who, desirous of sending a safe convoy out of the Baltic, engaged him to lead it to France. He was attacked by a Spanish squadron of war on his voyage, and so courageously did he defend his charge that he brought every vessel in safety into a French harbour. The *éclat* of this action brought his name to the knowledge of Louis XIII., who made him

Capitaine-de-vaisseau. This took place, in fact, before his marriage to the daughter of a man of some substance at Dieppe, where Abraham in consequence established himself; and here the subject of our memoir was born, in 1610, and was brought up there from his youth in naval pursuits. 1600. — 1610. Birth of Du Quesne.

His father was still at his business of a pilot, which kept him continually passing and re-passing to Sweden; but in one of the engagements to which he was exposed he was mortally wounded, and died at Dunkirk that year. At the siege of Rochelle Du Quesne, although he was but eighteen years of age, commanded a ship, and gave signal proofs of his ability and courage. In the war of France against the Emperor and Spanish King, in 1635, Louis XIII., being desirous of establishing a kind of "naval reserve" for the defence of his coast, commissioned M. de Sourdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux, and others, to select some naval officers fit for the service, and young Abraham Du Quesne was amongst those selected for the command of a vessel. Like many a hero of antiquity, young Abraham swore an eternal enmity to the Spaniards, who had killed his father. An opportunity soon presented itself. Port-Courlair was given the command of the squadron in which Du Quesne served and evinced great presence of mind and courage in an action with the Spaniards, under Don Roderiguo de Velasco, in which that Admiral was defeated and slain, near Gattari, by the ship commanded by Du Quesne. In 1639 Cardinal Richelieu sent forth a fleet under the command of the same Archbishop Sourdis who had served the Church Militant at Rochelle, and was thirsting for a new opportunity for military distinction. This prelate was a well known character of the day, and his correspondence with Richelieu remains as a monument of his varied abilities. Du Quesne commanded a ship under his orders, and was wounded off Corunna, where he evinced his usual bravery in

1628. 1635. 1639.

1641. some dashing inroads into that port from the blockading force. Recovered from his wound, Du Quesne, in 1641, served under another fleet which Archbishop Sourdis commanded in conjunction with the Count de la Motte-Houdancourt, and blockaded the port of Tarragona. Here they were attacked by the Spanish fleet on the 20th September, and a bloody engagement lasted till darkness separated the combatants without any result; but in the end the blockade of Tarragona was raised. Du Quesne led the van with his accustomed spirit, and gained increased reputation in this service. Again he was engaged off the same
1642. shore in 1642, and wounded at the taking of Perpignan.
1643. In 1643 he again served in the French fleet, now commanded by the Duke de Brezé; and in an affair in August, off Cabo de Gata, he was again wounded.

Du Quesne enters the Swedish service.

Whether his revenge against Spain was satiated or not, he had no further opportunity of sating it, for, as his Protestantism had somewhat hindered his advancement, he now quitted the Naval Service of France and entered that of Sweden. His father's name supplied him with friends as well as esteem in that Kingdom, and he was given the rank of Major-General and Vice-Admiral in the fleet which was preparing against Christian IV., King of Denmark. The Danish King had laid siege to Gottenburg by sea and land, and Du Quesne, having command of the sea, fell upon him with so much vigour that he obliged the King to raise the siege, and he followed up his advantage and ravaged the shore of Holstein. When the fleets engaged shortly afterwards Du Quesne made himself master of the Danish flag-ship, after a severe action, in which the Danish Admiral fell; and he was near making the King his prisoner, who had been on board, but, having received a bad wound in the eye at the beginning of the fight, His Majesty had landed.

Du Quesne raises the siege of Gottenburg.

1647. In 1647 Du Quesne was recalled by Cardinal Mazarin to France, who required a man of his ability

to lead the French Navy against the power of Austria, the Duke de Brezé, the Admiral of France, having been killed at Orbitello. He now received the rank of *Chef d'Escadron*, and, in conjunction with the Duke of Richelieu, he engaged the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Naples in 1649. He was next sent for to assist the operations of the forces of the Count during the war of La Fronde in the minority of Louis XIV.; and, being at Bordeaux, he is said to have fallen in with an English ship of war, and after a severe fight captured her. The account given by the French historian is circumstantial in every thing but the name of the ship or its commander, and the date; but, as it is not long, I will transcribe it, although I cannot understand why any English ship should have been regarded as an enemy by the French at this period:—"Celui qui la commande fait dire à Du Quesne de baisser pavillon. Il croit avoir affaire à un homme ordinaire, mais il n'est pas longtems à connoître qu'il s'est trompé. Du Quesne répond que le pavillon françois ne sera jamais déshonoré lorsqu'il l'aura à sa garde. 'Le canon,' disoit-il, 'en décidera; et la fierté angloise pourra bien céder aujourd'hui à la valeur françoise.' Le combat commence; les vaisseaux anglois, démâtés et tout criblés, sont forcés de lâcher prise quoique supérieurs en nombre. Du Quesne s'arrête à Brest, songe plutôt à faire radouber ses vaisseaux, qu'à faire panser les playes qu'il a reçues dans le combat." If any man can make out the fact from this description he is quicker than I pretend to be. It appears to be a cut-and-dried account of *any* French action that *any* French captain fought *any* where; but, as I find it in M. Richter's life of the Admiral, I neither deny nor affirm its truth. What appears altogether independent of this action is the remainder of the paragraph from whence I take it, which relates that Du Quesne hastened to the mouth of the Garonne, defended all entry into that estuary by the Spanish fleet, and enabled Bordeaux to be

1647. — Du Quesne recalled, and again enters the French service.

Strange story of Du Quesne's engagement with an English ship.

1647. successfully besieged; and that Queen Anne of Austria, — in recompense of this service, of which she felt all the importance, gave him "le château et l'isle d'Indres en Bretagne" for a recompense.

1659. The peace of 1659 enabled him to enjoy a little
1672. of land life, for he does not appear to have gone
Du Quesne commands a squadron under D'Estrées. to sea again until 1672, when he commanded the second squadron in the fleet, under the Count d'Estrées, in the naval fight off Solebay, where he was engaged with the Dutch squadron of Evertzen; but, as is well known, the French fleet sailed away to the south without regarding the battle between the English and Dutch, and in fact took little part in it.

1673. In 1673 he again commanded, under D'Estrées, in the various sea-fights of that year, but in none of the accounts of these fights, either in English or Dutch, is the share taken by the French recorded.

1674. In 1674, the Dutch and English having made peace,
Du Quesne captures Messina. Du Quesne was sent into the Mediterranean, and commanded a squadron in the fleet, under the Duke de Vivonne, off the Faro, when they attacked and separated a Spanish fleet under the Marquis de Visco, and took possession of the fortress of Messina; but on the news of the expected arrival of De Ruyter, with a Dutch fleet to assist the Spaniards in Sicily, Du Quesne sent to Versailles to represent to the King the necessity of reinforcing the French fleet. Louis XIV. acceded to the prayer, and prepared at Toulon an expedition composed of twenty ships of war, six fire-ships, and other sail, laden with ammunition and commissariat supplies, and gave the command of it to Abraham Du Quesne, who was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Général des Armées Navales de France. Having raised his flag

1675. towards the end of December, 1675, he sighted the Dutch fleet under De Ruyter on the 7th January,
1676. 1676, so placed as to prevent Du Quesne from entering the Faro, and the next day he attacked t off the
Action off the isle of Lipari. isle of Lipari. The first action ended indecisively,

with the loss of the Dutch Admiral Verschoor killed on one side, and the French officers, De Vallette, De Chaber, Du Gontes, and De Boissier wounded on the other; but Du Quesne, finding himself barred from entering the Faro, resolved to carry the French fleet round the south point of Sicily, and thus ensured the passage of the convoy in safety to Messina. This successful manœuvre so pleased the French King that he wrote the Admiral an autograph letter in his great satisfaction:— 1676. —

Letter of Louis XIV.

"Monsieur Du Quesne,

"Je n'ai pas été surpris de ce que vous avez fait pour la gloire de mes armes contre la flotte des ennemis auprès de l'Isle de Lipari. Je n'attendrai pas moins de votre valeur et de votre expérience à la mer. Je suis très-aise seulement de vous assurer que j'en suis pleinement satisfait et que j'en conserverai agréablement le souvenir. Cependant je veux que cette lettre, écrite de ma main, vous en soit un gage, et qu'elle vous répond que vous recevrez des effets de ma bienveillance en toutes les occasions qui se présenteront; et sur ce, je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait, Monsieur Du Quesne, en sa sainte garde.

"À St. Germain, le 26 février, 1676.

"(Signé) LOUIS."

In the month of March the fleets of Holland and Spain made a junction with the object of attacking that of France, and De Ruyter entered the Faro on the 27th March; but it was the 20th April when Du Quesne put to sea out of Messina and formed in order of battle; the Admiral d'Almeras commanding the advance, and De Tourville and the Marquis de Preulli-d'Humières in the centre, with De Gabaret bringing up the rear. De Ruyter and De Haan, on the part of the Dutch, and Don Francisco de la Cerda on that of the Spanish, prepared to meet him; and on the 22nd the battle was fought, in which the celebrated Dutch com-

Severe battle with the Dutch; and death of De Ruyter.

1676. — mander was killed. The battle continued to be sufficiently contested even after De Ruyter's death, as may be inferred from the French loss, which included the Marquis d'Almeras, Lieutenant-General, M.M. de Choux, de Boissier, de Bonnefonds, and the Chevaliers de Tambonneau, de Savière, and d'Arennes, who were all killed, while six Captains and many other inferior officers were wounded. But the result, like most of the naval actions of this period, had no such success as denoted a victory, since the French Navy retired to Messina, and the Dutch to Syracuse, in which bay De Ruyter died, on the 29th April, on board his flag-ship.

In consequence of the death of the Dutch Admiral-General, the Vice-Admiral de Haan took the command of the fleet, and carried it to Palermo on the 6th April. The body of De Ruyter was placed on board the ship "Concord," Captain Kallemburg, and sailed with the fleet under the Admiral's flag half-mast high. In this manner they anchored in the Bay of Palermo on the 15th. The French fleet, having refitted, was also reinforced by six sail, which had been sent out to Admiral Du Quesne, and which reached him at Messina on the 21st. Having obtained correct information as to the position of the Dutch fleet at Palermo, Du Quesne resolved on attempting an enterprise which promised to put the enemy's naval power altogether *hors de combat*. Accordingly, on the 28th, he carried out his fleet to sea, and, directing his course first to Palermo, arrived in sight of the allied fleets anchored in the bay on the 1st June.

Du Quesne attacks the Dutch and Spanish fleets.

No time was allowed the enemy to prepare for their defence, but they appear to have relied altogether on the land defences for their protection; so, on the morning of the 2nd, the Marquis de Preuilli and Tourville, leading in nine ships of war, seven galleys, and five fire-ships, without minding the guns of the

castles, directed their course towards the east of the bay, where the Spanish Admiral lay, with the greater portion of his squadron, in his great ship, "Nuestra Señora del Pilar," 70. The sight of the fire-ships so alarmed the Spaniards that they immediately cut their cables, and made for the shore; and in the confusion one of the fire-ships grappled the flag-ship and destroyed it utterly, when the Admiral-General Don Diego d'Ibassa, and the Admiral Don Francisco de la Cerda, both perished in the flames. The "San Antonio de Napoli," 54, the "San Salvador de Flandre," 40, the "San Filippo," 50, together with two Spanish galleys, also caught fire, and were burned with about 1500 men. The Marshal de Vivonne, seeing the success of his Lieutenant, ordered the Chevalier de Tourville to follow into the bay with the rest of the fleet, containing six fire-ships; but the Dutch sailors, more expert than the Spaniards, were able to avoid these dangerous neighbours, until the "Steinberg," 68, caught fire, which carried the danger to two others of the Dutch fleet, who were all three destroyed. The greatest anxiety was entertained lest the "Concord" should become ignited, but by the great exertions of Vice-Admiral Kallemburg this was prevented; but in the *mêlée* Vice-Admiral de Haan was struck by a cannon-ball and killed, when Kallemburg raised his flag as Commodore-Admiral. The French had completely succeeded in their enterprise, and the allied fleet was in no condition for further action. Although De Vivonne had assumed the chief command of the French fleet, Du Quesne was recognized as the master-mind that had obtained the victory, and the object having been successfully effected, the French withdrew again to their harbour of Messina.

1676.

Severe losses of the Spaniards and Dutch.

Thus matters remained until the end of 1678, when Louis XIV., having made peace with Spain, ordered this fleet to withdraw from Sicily. As soon, therefore, after it arrived at Toulon as was consistent with his

1678.

Du Quesne complimented by Louis XIV.

1678. duties of Admiral, Du Quesne repaired to Court to kiss the King's hand, when Louis XIV. thus addressed him: "Monsieur Du Quesne, I wish with all my heart I could recompense you for all the brilliant services you have rendered me, but as you are a Protestant I am unable to name you to be a Marshal of France." When the Marquis named this to his wife, Catherine de Bernière, who had abjured Catholicism to marry the gallant Admiral, she exclaimed, with the familiar oath of her husband, "Cent Diables! Oui, Sire, je suis Protestant, mais mes services sont Catholiques." Sensible, nevertheless, that such service must be in some measure requited, *Le Grand Monarque* compromised his Catholicism by purchasing for him the estate of Bouchet, near d'Estampes, which he erected into a Marquisate for Du Quesne. As the Admiral left no son, this estate passed by a daughter after his death to the Count de Noailles.

Louis XIV. purchases Du Quesne an estate.

The ambition of Louis XIV., however, contemplated a speedy resumption of war, and therefore he summoned the Marquis Du Quesne and other naval officers to his councils to determine on the best footing to establish the naval service of France. With this view the Admiral, and an able administrator, named M. Renau, gave in an elaborate memoir, which did not quite accord with the best professional opinions, but Du Quesne with much tact came round to it, and gave it all his energy and support. In May, 1681, the Algerines had expelled a Catholic Missionary who exercised in the port the duties of French Consul, and Louis XIV., desiring to punish this audacity, ordered an expedition to be fitted out at Toulon, of which the Marquis Du Quesne should take the command. It was the 12th July, 1682, before the squadron sailed,—it consisted of 4 ships of war, with 3 fire-ships—which was joined at sea with other squadrons under De Tourville and De L'Hery, so that the Marquis found himself at the head of a fleet of 11

1681. Du Quesne sent to chastise the Algerines.

1682.

ships of war, 15 galleys, and 5 bomb-vessels of such a size as carried 2 mortars and 4 guns. With this force he, on the 21st, bombarded Algiers, under a murderous fire from the castles on shore, but without much effect on either side. From consideration of weather or other casualties it was the 16th August before he was enabled to make another bombardment. During a calm night the Chevalier de Tourville, in "Le Vigilant," towing in the gun-boat, "La Cruelle," M. de Pointz, went up close under the French on one side, while "Le Vaillant," M. de Beaulieu, in like manner, towed in "La Menaçante," M. de Goiton. Similar attacks were made by the Chevalier de L'Hery in "Le Prudent," with "La Brulante," M. de Scorbiers;" and by M. Forant, in "L'Etoile," with "La Foudroyante," M. de Boislye. The attack was under the direction of the Captain of the bombardment, M. de Camelin, who had been appointed by the King himself to assist the Marquis, as a first-rate artillery officer, but the landsman, utterly without any experience, proved unequal to a duty that was quite new to him, the naval officers fouled their anchors and took up wrong positions, and so mismanaged the bombs that they fell amongst the shipping, and frightened the sailors so much that they jumped into the sea. To prevent these explosions they drowned the shells, which accordingly could no longer explode. Seeing the state of things, De Tourville and De L'Hery took upon themselves to bring back the vessels, and they hastened to report themselves to Du Quesne on board the flag-ship; when it was agreed to apprise the Minister of Marine that they considered the further progress of the affair impracticable. M. Renau, however, wrote to the Admiral, urging a second trial, on which the Marquis consented to make another attempt on the 30th, and, these blunders being prevented, the success was more complete, and a considerable devastation was effected; so that on the 4th September

1682. —

Ineffectual bombardments.

1682. Le Vacher, the Consul, was sent out by the Dey to learn the conditions on which the French fleet would quit the Port of Algiers. What was the result of this negotiation is not stated, but Du Quesne was satisfied, and carried back his fleet to Toulon. The experiment of bombs on ship-board is said not to have been previously attempted, and that this was the peculiar invention of M. Reffau here attempted [1].

Du Quesne returns to Toulon.

The Algerines were, nevertheless, not sufficiently humbled by the bombardment they had experienced, and continued their depredations on French commerce to so great an extent that the King confided a second expedition in 1683 to the Marquis Du Quesne. A night attack, similar to the one related, took place on the 26th June, but no result was then obtained. In the night of the 27th a second bombardment destroyed the palace and a large extent of the town, and Le Vacher was again sent out to inquire conditions. The Marquis replied, "An absolute release and surrender of every French slave in their possession." When, after many delays, they sent out 142, the Admiral refused to believe that these could be all, and, after the threat of continuing the siege, 126 more were produced on the 30th ; and at length 546 French subjects of both sexes were restored to liberty. During the discussion a revolution of some kind occurred in Algiers, in which the Dey was deposed, and a Pirate-Admiral named Mezzo-Morto was proclaimed King. This occasioned

1683. Du Quesne bombards Algiers and obtains the release of the French slaves.

[1] Bernard Renau is a character of considerable estimation in French military history. He was a very captivating little man, who was taken up as a youth by Colbert, and was adopted as a *brother* by the two daughters of the Intendant, the Princess of Carignane and Madame de Barbançon. Thus adopted by fortune, he ambitioned greatness for a great artillerist, became a disciple of Vauban, and not only invented shells, but wrote "La Théorie de la Manœuvre des Vaisseaux." Philip V. begged his grandfather Louis XIV. to let him have M. de Renau in the service of Spain, and accordingly he endeavoured to retake Gibraltar, but failed notwithstanding all his ingenuity.

a new bombardment of the unhappy town, which was continued till the 18th, when the Admiral, finding his powder and ball beginning to fail, carried back the fleet to Toulon, bringing with him all the redeemed slaves. The following year, in June, 1684, a deputation arrived to make every submission in their power to the King of France; which Louis XIV. accepted with all the presumption of his character. 1684.

In 1684 the Genoese Republic came under the anger of *Le Grand Monarque*, and he fitted out a fleet, which was entrusted to the Marquis Du Quesne and Chevalier De Tourville, which left the port of Toulon on the 5th May. It carried with it M. de Seignelay, the Secretary of Marine; and was composed of fifteen ships of war, twenty galleys, and ten gun-boats, besides fireships, all which arrived before Genoa on the 17th May. The negotiations between the Minister and the Senate not having had a good result, the guns were opened from the town upon the fleet, and Du Quesne ordered the bombs to be launched upon the city. This continued for seven days, when there was a respite; during which M. de Seignelay reopened negotiations, and sent M. de Bonrepos, under a flag of truce, on shore: and on his return, the marines were landed from the vessels at S. P. d'Arena, to the number of 3800 men, each man carrying with him provision for three days, and the Duke de Montemart was given the command of the force, having De Tourville and De L'Hesy to serve under him; while Le Chevalier de Noailles, with ten galleys, accompanied the march by sea. The Admiral, having continued to bombard till the 28th, went to sea, leaving the land expedition to carry out M. de Seignelay's object. Du Quesne bombards Genoa.

The Genoese command was the last at which the Marquis Du Quesne assisted. He had attained the age of seventy-five, and was glad to seek the repose of his family in Paris, where he died on the 2nd February, 1688. 1688. Death of Du Quesne.

1688. — Hyperbolical character of French military biography.

It is exceedingly difficult, with the utmost desire to be impartial and to extend justice to the character of my Warriors, whether home or foreign, to estimate properly the character of a French hero. The national records pitch their pipe equally to all of their compatriots in the highest key. Every warrior of their nation, whether ancestral or contemporaneous, is "Grand." Accordingly, M. Richter gives us the "Vie du Marquis Du Quesne, dit Le Grand Du Quesne." But it would be difficult to understand how the gallant Admiral merited this high distinction. It does not appear, even from his own biographer's account, that he captured more than one or two single ships in the whole of his service, although he was several times severely wounded in actions with the enemy. His naval actions were all gunnery, and not one of them was a decisive one. Yet he was by no means deficient in any of the best qualities of a naval officer, and had had a very long experience of active service. So that it was with great justice that Louis XIV. addressed him, saying, "Monsieur Du Quesne, un homme qui a servi aussi longtemps et aussi utilement que vous doit se reposer. Ceux qui vont commander dans la Marine suivront vos leçons et vos exemples: ce sera encore vous qui conduirez mes flottes."

Du Quesne is presumptuously compared with De Ruyter by his biographer.

M. Richter renders what he calls "Parallèle du grand Du Quesne et du célèbre Ruiter," but this only turns out to be that they were both born in the fisherman grade of society, and were brought up by fathers of the same condition, and that both served against the Algerine corsairs, but this certainly does not justify this conclusion very jauntily arrived at: "Plusieurs historiens assurent que Ruiter est le plus grand homme de mer qui ait paru, mais Du Quesne fut son vainqueur." De Ruyter was in truth the greatest man of his age, but history denies that he was ever conquered by Du Quesne; and to institute any comparison between the two is to compare a lamp with a candle.

In person Admiral Du Quesne was a spare, thin man, but of good height and healthy air. He was of a very ruddy countenance, which set off his white moustache and hair with a singular character, so that with his bold daring air he obtained the sobriquet of "Cent Diables." He conducted his very difficult professional career with a steadiness of principle that compares advantageously with his contemporary, Marshal Turenne. Like that great man he was born a Protestant, and resisted all the unworthy attempts that were made by his King to induce him to change his religion for the sake of his interests. His messmates, MM. du Tourville and d'Estrées, were elevated to the rank of Marshals of France, but Du Quesne never attained higher rank than Lieutenant-Général des Armées Navales. On this subject the Admiral had an audience of Louis XIV. at Versailles, when the King told him, "Vous êtes Protestant, et vous savez mes intentions là-dessus." To which Du Quesne boldly answered, "True, Sire, I am Protestant, but I always regarded my services as being Catholic."

1688. —

Du Quesne's consistent Protestantism.

The Marquis du Quesne died at Paris in his seventy-eighth year; but even in his death he was proscribed in respect to his religion. He was refused burial in France, and his son was obliged to carry his corpse to Aubonne, in the Protestant State of Berne, where it was committed to the ground with decency, respect, and honour. It is to be hoped that we have in these days attained to a proper estimate of the folly as well as the discredit of this war against the dead. Du Quesne has now been in his grave nearly 200 years, and how very small the "Grande Monarque" appears in comparison with his great subject. What Sovereign would now-a-days dare to act in a manner recognized by the age to be as ridiculous as it is unchristian[1]?

Bigotry refuses him a grave in his own country.

[1] Vie du Marquis du Quesne, par Richter; Vie de Ruyter, par Brandt; Drames Maritimes, par Eugène Sue; Biographie Universelle.

CORNELIS TROMP, OR VAN TROMP.

ADMIRAL-GENERAL OF HOLLAND.

Born 1629. Died 1691.

1629. This distinguished sea-officer was the eldest son of his more distinguished father, whom his countrymen described on his tomb as the "Thunderbolt of War." To avoid the confusion incident to two leaders of the same name, in the same age, I have distinguished the son by the popular error of the name of Van Tromp. Tromp the father had three sons, of whom Cornelis was the eldest, who was altogether a child of the sea, for his father never went on shipboard after he was able to stand on his legs that he did not take him out to sea with him. He was already in com-
1650. mand of a ship before he lost his father, and in 1650 was in action, under Admiral Van Galen, against the Barbary corsairs. In 1652 he had a command under the same Admiral, whom he accompanied to the Medi-

terranean. Here, on the 6th September, he attacked the Levant fleet of the English, between Elba and Monte Christo. Van Tromp's vessel suffered so much in the action that he removed from it to the command of the "Phœnix," which Van Galen had captured in the fight, and had carried into the neutral port of Leghorn, whither also the English squadron proceeded; whose Commodore (Appleton) resolved to recapture the "Phœnix," and, with this view, at the dead of night of the 26th November he sent Captain Cox with three boats manned with resolute seamen, who, with considerable address, seized an opportunity of boarding the vessel; which took Tromp by surprise, when, finding himself unable to cope with the enemy, he and his crew took to their boats or jumped into the sea, and abandoned the "Phœnix" to Captain Cox, who, as soon as he regained possession, at once put to sea, with a fresh crew on board, and carried her off in the sight of the Dutch fleet, who could not follow her in consequence of her superior sailing qualities. 1652. Action with the English. Gallant conduct of the English.

There were two English squadrons at this time in the Mediterranean, the one commanded by Commodore Appleton, and the other by Commodore Bodley. The former had been engaged near the port of Leghorn with Van Galen, in the affair just described, and still remained lying close to the Dutch squadron; the other was cruizing off Porto-Longone in Elba, with eight ships of war and a fire-ship. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, offended at the violence of Appleton towards his Dutch allies, ordered him either to restore the "Phœnix" or leave the port with his squadron. To depart, however, was not wholly without danger, for Van Galen, with sixteen men-of-war, lay ready to intercept the squadron. An order was immediately sent to Bodley to bring up his squadron, which junction was effected on the 14th March, 1653. An action ensued, not very clearly narrated, in which the Dutch blew up the "Bonaventure," 44. Van Tromp, 1653. Defeat of the English.

1653. commanding the "Moon," attacked the "Samson," — 36, which he sunk; and the flag-ship of Appleton, the "Leopard," 52, was captured. The "Levant Merchant," 28, and the "Pilgrim," 30, had a better fortune. But the Dutch lost their Admiral Van Galen, whose right leg was carried off by a cannon-shot at the first encounter, and he died a week after the action had terminated, on the 23rd March. Van Tromp had an opportunity now afforded him of evincing his nautical talents, as he was now promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Amsterdam Admiralty; and he appears to have continued in the command of the fleet of the United Provinces in the Mediterranean until the peace concluded between
1654. Holland and England, on the 15th April, 1654, notwithstanding the lamentable death of his father, the brave old Tromp, who was killed in action on the previous 10th August, 1653.

A war, however, still continued in the north, between Sweden and Poland, and the Dutch Government, in order to protect their commerce in the Baltic, sent a fleet to the Sound, the command of which was given to Admiral Opdam, with De Ruyter and Tromp under him, who landed at Copenhagen
1656. on the 9th June, 1656. Here they rendezvoused a considerable fleet, consisting of forty-two sail, which appeared before the port of Dantzick in July, at that time blockaded by the Swedes, who immediately lifted the blockade, and sailed away. A treaty of peace between the States and the belligerents was, however, concluded at Elbing in September, and in consequence Opdam was recalled to Holland with thirty ships of war, leaving Van Tromp at Dantzick with twelve sail and a land force; but in the following October the Rear-Admiral was also recalled, and the soldiers were left behind and added to the garrison of the fortress.

De Ruyter was at that time very actively and

with great distinction employed both in the Baltic and against the Algerines constantly, and was accompanied by Van Tromp. On the 1st January, 1663, however, we read, that the Rear-Admiral reached Alicant in command of a squadron of twelve ships of war, and after a conference with De Ruyter proceeded to Leghorn. Here, on the 18th March, he received from De Ruyter the direction to take the Mediterranean command, as he was summoned back to Holland. At the commencement of 1664 Tromp was constantly chasing the Algerines, whose piratical vessels he captured, and whose slaves he released. But the injury that these barbarians occasioned the Dutch commerce had arisen to such a pitch that the States laid a plan before the Kings of England, France, and Spain, to unite in a common expedition to punish and destroy these nests of pirates; but, for various reasons, the three Courts were indisposed to listen to the proposition. Accordingly, Holland determined on taking the matter in hand by herself, and De Ruyter accordingly was despatched with a fleet, which reached Algiers on the 19th June; and, after bringing the Regency of Algiers to terms, proceeded on the first days of October to coast the African shores where the English had committed hostilities. I cannot find that Van Tromp either joined De Ruyter while in the Mediterranean, or went with him on his African expedition, and therefore suppose that he retained his command towards the Levant and Black Sea until he was recalled home on the declaration of the war against England in 1665. At this time the States made a promotion among their sea-officers, and Van Tromp was included in the number of Vice-Admirals.

1663. —

1664. Tromp chastises the Algerines.

1665.

The old rivalry between the Dutch and English induced both sides to make great exertions to carry on the war by sea, and Holland sent forth a fleet of 103 ships of war, 7 yachts, 12 fire-ships, and 12 galiots, mounting 4809 guns, and manned by 11,631 men.

1665. This armament was commanded by Opdam in chief, having Evertz, Cortenaer, Stellingwerf, Van Tromp, and Scham commanding squadrons under him.

About the end of May the contending fleets put to sea. The English, under the command of the Duke of York, brother of the King, was supported by Prince Rupert and the Earl of Sandwich, having Sir John Lawson, Sir John Ayscough, and Sir Christopher Mings, all Vice-Admirals of established reputation. Opdam, Sieur de Wassenaar, commanded the Dutch, assisted by all the Vice-Admirals named above. I proceed to give the full detail of the celebrated battle of Solebay from the Dutch naval historian, Gérard Brandt, but it is necessary to explain that from the difference of style at this period employed in England this battle is dated by them the 3rd June.

Gérard Brandt's narrative of the first battle of Solebay.

"I now approach the bloody battle of the 14th June, which was so disadvantageous to Holland and her allies. The two fleets met in the North Sea, at about ten leagues N.E. quarter N. from the town of Lowestoff. It has been stated that two days previous to the battle the Dutch had the advantage of the wind without profiting by it, although such a circumstance is deemed of great importance in maritime combats. The fight commenced at daybreak. A great portion of the Dutch officers acquitted themselves of their duty with their accustomed bravery; but there were others who kept in the offing, indulging in a distant idle cannonade. However, about two o'clock p.m. the Dutch flag-ship, 'Concord,' 84, with the Admiral and a crew of 500 men, blew up; but it is not quite certain whether this fatal accident was occasioned by her own people or by the fire of the enemy. The Lieutenant-Admiral Cortenaer, who should have succeeded to the chief command after Opdam, had been previously struck down by one of the first shots fired at five in the morning, when the pilot of his flag-ship, losing his head, allowed the vessel to

drift away as though she had lost her rudder. 1665. —
These unforeseen calamities, becoming known in the midst of the most fearful storm of powder and shot that had ever been witnessed, occasioned such a terror in the Dutch fleet that, without rhyme or reason, some of the ships sailed away, and the others followed, they knew not why. It was thought extraordinary at the time that the enemy did not sooner profit by these occurrences. Nevertheless, three vessels of the line were caught by a fire-ship at a moment when all were fouled together, and the whole three sunk and perished at one blow. Some of the ships, nevertheless, defended themselves by a vigorous resistance. The English Vice-Admiral, Sir John Lawson, after he had exceeded all he had ever done before, was mortally wounded, as well as Rear-Admiral Samson. Ley, Earl of Marlborough, serving as a private Captain in the 'Old James,' 70, was killed in the act of retaking the 'Montague,' 58, Captain Carlstake, that had struck to the Dutch. Weston, Earl of Portland, in a similar capacity, fell in the bed of honour half an hour before. The Dutch, on their side, besides Admiral Opdam, lost Vice-Admiral Stellingworf, Captain Bankert, and many other officers of distinction. Van Tromp appears to have assumed the command of the retreating fleet, and accompanied the fifty-eight or sixty ships of war, of which it still consisted, to the Vlie; and was followed at a distance by the enemy. The Dutch ships were thus enabled to separate in their courses, some retiring to Wielingen, in the Meuse, and others to the Goree. These were, nevertheless, on their arrival, ill-treated by their own countrymen. Admiral Evertz, on showing himself at the Brille, was recognized as one of the defeated Admirals by the mob, and thrown into the water, in which he would assuredly have been drowned but for the interference of the soldiery. This brave and distinguished officer had, however, no difficulty in justifying himself before the Council

The Dutch fleet retreats.

Rage of the populace.

1665. of War, from whom he received the praise he merited for his conduct in the action." The Dutch author expresses his astonishment that the Duke of York did not mature his good fortune by a more ardent pursuit, and this was the opinion of England also.

A Council of War condemns several officers who had not done their duty;

The Dutch Council of War was assembled at the Texel, to have brought before it every officer who was accused of misconducting himself. Van Tromp was named President; and it was composed of three Vice-Admirals, three Rear-Admirals, and seven Captains. "In the inquiry they first examined those who had set the example of the retreat; and it was found that some of the ships had neither killed nor wounded among their crews, nor an atom of damage to the hulls and rigging of their ships, nor any appearance of the slightest derangement. After the most searching inquiry three Captains were condemned to be shot, and three others had their swords broken over their heads and declared unworthy of future dignity or employment, and three more lost their commissions. The pilot of Cortenaer's ship, who had behaved so disgracefully, was distinguished by the further infamy of being paraded at the foot of a gibbet before the whole town, with a cord round his neck, and marched off into perpetual banishment, under pain of finding a true halter if he ever ventured to return."

And also rewards those who had distinguished themselves.

On the other hand, the Council was not unsparing in rewards; Captain de Haan who had captured the "Charity" from the English, and had brought it into Dutch waters, received 10,000 livres' reward. Van Tromp was elevated to the rank of Lieutenant-Admiral of the College of the Meuse, in the place of Cortenaer, who had been killed; and it was even mooted whether he should not succeed to the command of the fleet in the place of Opdam; but, first and foremost, he was an Orangeist, and therefore the De Witt party was prejudiced against him. Moreover, it was evident that he was of that class of men who

get into *brouilleries*[1]; for not only on this and on a former occasion, but in a more serious misunderstanding with De Ruyter, later in his career, he got himself by this habit into serious trouble, and was for a time shelved from employment. It was known that he was a man of courage, and that the seamen loved him; and, moreover, his name was a "tower of strength." Ultimately when De Ruyter was despatched on another service he was named to the chief command of the home fleet, but with that fatal gift, the resource of all Republicans, the Admiral was to have three Civilian Deputies associated with his command. Before, however, Van Tromp could do more than give the most active superintendence to the refitting of the fleet and preparing it to go to sea, news arrived on the 6th August that De Ruyter had arrived back at the mouth of the Ems, on his return from his African cruise. 1665.

Tromp appointed to the chief command.

This incident influenced very considerably the future career of our hero. De Ruyter had a name of great renown, and was, moreover, warmly attached by friendship to the Pensionary and the Republican party in the States. No time was lost therefore in giving him the command that had been, as we have seen, so unwillingly conferred on Van Tromp. Accordingly, the States came to this resolution: "It has been judged meet by the States-General that, under the direction of the Deputies and Plenipotentiaries of their High Mightinesses, MM. Huggins, De Witt, and John Boreel, Michel De Ruyter, Lieutenant Admiral of Holland and West Friesland, should command in chief in the expedition about to sail, having under

Tromp is superseded in the chief command by De Ruyter.

[1] This word is not translatable in the sense I would employ it here. It is not that Cornelis was quarrelsome, nor was he hot and given to broils, as the word might impute; but he was rather deficient in *tact*, so that in the case before us he was *touchy* upon the opinions of the civilians in regard to the want of success in the fleet, and thus made himself enemies.

1665. — him Admiral Evertz, Lieutenant-Admiral Cornelis Tromp, &c. But should it happen by any unforeseen occurrence Lieutenant-Admiral De Ruyter should not be in a condition to exercise this charge, Lieutenant-Admiral Tromp should succeed him in the same quality and enjoy the same prerogatives, and have the same superintendence and direction of the fleet," &c.

Tromp refuses to serve as second in command.

This resolution of the Government was signified to the fleet at the Texel by the Deputies, and all promised to conform to their pleasure excepting Van Tromp. He declared that he would not go to sea under another after the chief command had been conferred on himself; and solicited that if it was the pleasure of the States to give the command to De Ruyter that they would discharge him from the charge they continued to repose in him, since he should always act against the grain and not with his accustomed zeal and attachment to the service. He therefore gave this declaration into the hands of the Deputies: "That if, after having had all the care and trouble of preparing the fleet for sea, he was to be made to serve in the chief command under another, he would rather not go to sea at all." On the refusal of Tromp being made known to the States of Holland, they made this declaration to the Government:—

Declaration of the Deputies.

"Noble, venerable, and prudent Gentlemen,

"We have heard with surprise and displeasure that Lieutenant-Admiral Tromp has taken in bad part that we have selected Lieutenant-Admiral de Ruyter for the chief command of the fleet, so that he refuses to continue his service and to go with it to sea. Nevertheless, we have persuaded ourselves that when he shall have seriously reflected on an affair of so much importance that affects the national good, and materially his own reputation, he will take a wiser alternative. If he should have the imprudence to persist in this resolution we must leave him to his own way,

but, as the service of the State cannot be compromised by so unreasonable an infatuation, you will cause the fleet to go forthwith to sea, and you will advise us as to the final resolution of the said Lieutenant-Admiral Tromp, that we may take steps accordingly, &c. 1665.

"Done at the Hague, 13th August, 1665.

"By order,

"HERBERT VAN BEAUMONT."

Tromp at length consents to serve under De Ruyter.

Our hero, listening to the more prudent council of his friends, remained on board his flag-ship, "Friendship," and went to sea with the fleet.

The change in the naval commander having effected an alteration in the opinion of the public as to the expediency of associating civilians with so experienced an Admiral as De Ruyter, the matter came under renewed discussion, many doubting whether the Pensionary De Witt should be absent on board the fleet when the Government of the country desired his presence and concurrence on shore. But he would not permit himself to be turned from the resolution which had appointed him to go out with the Admiral, saying, "the preservation of his person was second in his consideration to the prosperity of the State. That the good or ill success of a second naval battle might altogether consolidate or ruin the existence of his country."

The Dutch fleet put to sea, but fail to meet the English.

The three Deputies having come on board the flag-ship, Van Tromp put to sea with the fleet on the 15th August, passing out of the Texel by the narrow passage known as the "Spaniards-Gat," which was so successfully effected, under a westerly wind, as that not a single ship touched the ground in the passage. The command of the fleet still rested with him until De Ruyter's arrival: it consisted of 96 ships of war, and 23 yachts and fire-ships, under the subordinate direction of Lieutenant-Admirals Van der Hulst, De Liefde, the two Evertzs, and Bankert. The land, however, was

1665 — scarcely cleared when De Ruyter, with his flag on the "Delflandt," 70, assumed the command and sailed away straight for the Danish coast. On receiving more correct information of the whereabout of the English fleet, which was reported to consist of 70 ships of war, cruising in the North Sea, De Ruyter put the head of his fleet towards the coast of Norway; when, on arriving at Bergen, he found he must have passed the enemy on the 24th or 25th without knowing it. On the 10th September a fearful storm was encountered which separated the ships of the fleet, and Tromp, with 14 sail, did not again return to the Admiral's flag till the fleet returned to the Vlie, on the 17th September. The storm of the 10th had of course fallen on the fleet of the Earl of Sandwich as it had done on that of De Ruyter, but the greater part of the English ships had already found refuge in Solebay, and was thus enabled to take the sea with so much expedition that, on the 18th, when off the Doggerbank, four Dutch ships of war, endeavouring to rejoin their fleet, fell into the midst of an English squadron, when "Huis de Swieten," 70, "Paul de Zeland," "Le Cavalier de Gueldre," 46, and "Paul d'Enkhuise," were obliged to strike, after a courageous resistance. A few days later the English cruisers had the good fortune to meet with 18 sail of merchantmen, all of which they captured or destroyed. Lord Sandwich, in his report of this transaction, claims also to have made "above a thousand prisoners." Both fleets continued to cruise in the North Sea, exposed to many casualties, but De Ruyter withdrew behind the Texel on the 3rd November, without having had the opportunity he so much desired of encountering the English fleet.

The English capture four Dutch ships of war.

1666. In January, 1666, the French King declared war against England, and great preparations were made by the States to put to sea a fleet of more than usual

magnitude, which was to have the co-operation of a French fleet in the ensuing campaign. A new flag-ship was constructed, called "The Seven Provinces," 80, on which De Ruyter hoisted his flag on the 11th April, with which he himself went to sea to obtain some news of the expected French fleet, which, however, was not to be heard of; and it was the first days of June before the fleet quitted the Texel. De Ruyter had, as before, the command in chief; but in the commission thus given Lieutenant-Admiral Van Nès was to succeed him in the first place, and Van Tromp in the second. The fleet mustered 85 ships of war and frigates, carrying altogether 584 guns and 22,500 men. The English fleet, that was now assembled in the Thames, under the united command of Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert, numbered 81 ships of war, beside fire-ships and small craft, carrying nearly 700 guns and 21,000 men. The Admirals commanding the squadrons were Sir Christopher Mings, Sir George Ayscough, Sir William Berkeley, Sir Thomas Allen, Sir John Harman, Sir Thomas Tiddyman, &c. Van Tromp, with Meppel, commanded a detached Dutch squadron, consisting of twenty-nine ships of war and frigates, besides fire-ships and small craft. A great number of French and Italian noblemen were received on board the Dutch flag-ships to witness the expected battle; and the celebrated painter William Van de Velde was prepared to describe the action with his best colours. In these days the Dutch was the popular service on the Continent; the English were only known to the civilized world through the medium of the French literature, which painted them as given to suicide in November, and as selling their wives in open market, and as the "king-killers," all in a style that pleased *Le Grand Monarque*, and the petty sovereigns who aspired to walk in his steps of self-sufficiency, pomp and vanity, and morality, and who could not endure that the English should come in any way "between the

1666. —

The English fleet assembled in the Thames.

The Dutch the most popular service at this time.

1666. wind and their nobility,"—"mais maintenant on a changé tout cela."

Gérard Brandt's account of the battle between Albemarle and De Ruyter.

In relating the battle that ensued I will again avail myself of the Dutch account of it by Gérard Brandt. At about noon of the 11th June, the British fleet was seen bearing down upon that of Holland, under the flag of the Duke of Albemarle, but his colleague Prince Rupert had been detached to look after the French fleet under the Duc de Beaufort, reported (but erroneously) to be coming up to join with the Dutch. "On fit la prière, le coq servit et l'on disposa ensuite toutes les autres choses[1]." The English had the wind, and the sea was so rough that it was necessary for the Dutch fleet to cut their cables and bear south. Admirals Tromp and Meppel, whose squadron was the rear, became by this manœuvre the fore-front, and came first into action about one o'clock. De Ruyter, with the centre, followed soon after. The combat, in which both parties showed equal valour, was stubbornly persevered in till nightfall. At about half-past four o'clock an English frigate was sunk under the fire of De Ruyter's flag-ship. At half-past five the English fleet tacked and bore north-east, in order to weather the banks. In this manœuvre Vice-Admiral Sir William Berkeley, in the "Swiftsure," 70, with the "Faithful George," 44, and the "Zevenwolder," 60 (an old Dutch prize), were cut off by the Dutch Captains Adrianz Swart and

[1] I have given the literal terms of the historian. In the seventeenth century Protestants and Catholics were alike in this one mind, that they never entered into a fight without humbling themselves before the Almighty; Turenne, De Ruyter, Marlborough, and Nelson followed the same invariable practice; but Napoleon, Wellington, and the warriors of the modern school, would deem so much piety as Methodism or superstition. Yet there are few persons who on their death-beds patiently await the final stroke who do not seek for a prayer in their hearts or lips. How shall we solve this paradox? My advice would be by the moral courage of destroying it, and thus returning again to the ancient ways.

Van der Zaan; and in the bloody conflict that ensued Berkeley was killed, and the three ships were boarded and taken. Van Tromp, on the following day, was unfortunate; in a collision his flag-ship, the "Province of Utrecht," lost all her masts and bowsprit. The "Duivenwoorde" and the "Zeland," belonging to De Ruyter's squadron, were both burnt by fire-ships to the water's edge; while the "Great Holland" and "Little Holland," the former, the flag-ship of Van Nès, escaped a like fate with difficulty. 1666.

In the beginning of the first day's engagement, which was very fierce on both sides, Van Tromp's ship was so much disabled that he was obliged to go on board another vessel; and another Dutch ship was blown into the air between the two Admirals; nevertheless this first day's engagement was on the side of the Dutch, who sunk first an English ship of fifty, and then another of seventy, and afterwards three first-rate ships. Night at length put an end to the conflict of the first day.

Desperate attack of Tromp.

Van Tromp contrived about midday on the 12th (June 1st) to get into the midst of the English fleet, with five vessels, for which act of undoubted heroism he paid dearly. His flag-ship, the "Province d'Utrecht," had her sails and rigging cut to pieces, and eighty men were put *hors de combat*. He was once more obliged to leave his ship, and actually shifted from ship to ship, fighting one after another with various fortune. The flag-ship of Van der Hulst, the "Mirror," lost her mainmast, and was quite disabled, and more than 100 men wounded or killed on board, and among the latter that brave and distinguished Dutch Admiral himself. The "Kalantsooge," Captain de Haan, and "Lebirtz," Captain Van Amstel, were both so maltreated that the Admiral ordered them to be towed out of the line, and carried to the Texel. A fierce contest continued, when Van Tromp's dismasted flag-ship was in the greatest jeopardy until relieved by De Ruyter,

1666. on whom several fire-ships were directed without effect; nevertheless, the maintops of the flag-ships, on which was the Admiral's *pavillon et flamme*, were never brought low.

Capture of the "Prince Royal."

The action was renewed for the third time on the 13th, when the English fleet withdrew to their coasts without the Dutch being in a condition to pursue; but towards evening the "Prince Royal," the largest and heaviest ship in the fleet, which bore the white flag of Vice-Admiral Sir George Ayscough, got upon the Galloper Sands, and could not be got off. There, beaten by the waves, surrounded by enemies, and abandoned by his friends, the Captain was compelled by his own crew to strike; but the Dutch, having taken them on board, and finding it impossible to bring off the "Prince Royal," set her on fire and burned her.

Arrival of Prince Rupert.

While this act of doubtful triumph was in actual operation, a fleet sighted in the offing, which proved to be Prince Rupert with twenty-five sail, who, having failed to discover the expected French fleet, returned to the Duke of Albemarle's flag. On this, the English fleet went about, and Monk repaired on board the "Royal James" to confer with the Prince in the night. It was resolved with this reinforcement to renew the action for the fourth time the following day, and at eight in the morning (the 4th) the combat again began.

Lieutenant-Admiral Van Tromp and Rear-Admiral Sweers had, however, suffered so much that they were both obliged to keep quite aloof from this fourth day's action; nevertheless, the bravery our hero had displayed in the previous days added greatly to his fame. His boldness in throwing himself in his crippled condition into the midst of the enemy's fleet, and his address and skill in turning about to repel his assailants alternately, was highly extolled. He was obliged continually to shift his flag from one ship of his squadron to another, so that it was the same remark of the English Captains as is recorded of Richard III.

in the battle of Bosworth Field, "I think there be six Tromps in the field." 1666.

Both nations having exhausted their "Io Pæans" for a victory that both claimed, the greatest exertions were made for the renewal of the conflict, which was inevitable between such high-mettled combatants. On the 25th July or 1st August the English fleet, consisting of ninety sail, appeared off the Dutch coast, under the command of the same chief officers as before. Vice-Admirals Sir John Allen and Sir Jeremiah Smith taking the place of Ayscough and Berkeley; the Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, Evertz, and Van Tromp, immediately put to sea (Tromp's flag flying on the "Holland"), and the two fleets encountered one another, in the open sea off the North Foreland, bearing S.W. by W., at eight leagues' distance. There was scarcely wind enough to enable the fleets to form, and this was soon succeeded by a dead calm. Action off the North Foreland, Aug. 4.

Before a shot was fired, it was remarked with astonishment that Lieutenant-Admiral Van Tromp, with his squadron, which was the most numerous in the fleet, remained at a distance, with all sails brailed up; when this was perceived by the enemy, they fell with all their power on De Ruyter and Evertz, who stoutly defended themselves against great odds, and dealt severe blows on their assailants. It is quite impossible to understand what could have been the motive for Van Tromp's conduct; but this was the language in which it was represented by De Ruyter in his despatch to the Dutch Government: "Lieutenant-Admiral Tromp, who formed the rear-guard, instead of bringing up his squadron, remained still, which permitted the enemy to interpose their fleet between him and the other squadron of my fleet. I am obliged to say that I never saw that he entered into action at all until evening, when for a short time he exchanged fire with the blue squadron of the English. In the meantime, I was exposed to the disadvantage of a cruel combat, expecting every Equivocal conduct of Tromp. De Ruyter's remarks on Tromp's conduct.

1666. moment that Tromp and Meppel would come down to my assistance, until at length my flag-ship was reduced to a condition of such disablement that I was constrained to follow those of my fleet who had already sailed away. Lieutenant-Admiral Tromp, who was with the wind, had the means of coming to me, but I had an utter impossibility of reaching him, and I cannot understand the motive of his conduct. Seeing myself thus abandoned, I had no alternative but a retreat." Van Tromp's own account of the affair was as follows: "Yesterday the enemy, consisting of ninety sail, attacked us under a dead calm. I had the command of the rear-guard, and was opposed by the English blue squadron, under Sir Jeremiah Smith. I broke the line of the enemy with my squadron, in order that I might have the wind, and by this means I also cut off the English squadron from their fleet, and we thus contended until night, when they fled, and I pursued them through the hours of darkness; but in the morning we found ourselves near the Galloper, whence we sailed to join Admiral Ruyter; but the enemy, whom we had beaten, now returned upon us, and followed in our wake till nightfall, when the entire fleet of the enemy arrived."

Tromp's defence.

"We were ignorant where to find our Admiral, or we should have exerted every diligence to have joined him; but, exposed to the whole fleet of the enemy, we had no other course to pursue but to sail for Weilingen, where we have arrived this morning." A paper-war ensued between the two Admirals, when the States-General, seeing a deadly feud likely to arise between their two greatest naval officers, and much embarrassed from the fact that they were respectively connected with the two great parties in the State, the Republicans and Orangeists, named Commissioners to inquire into the affair. The Pensionary De Witt, chief of the Republican party, entered into the dispute with his accustomed energy, and it was considered to have been mainly owing to his influence that they ar-

rived at this award: namely, that Lieutenant-Admiral Van Tromp did not in his statement at all agree with the evidence given by Admiral de Ruyter and the other officers of the fleet, and it was manifest that the public credit required that the disagreement should be appeased, and they recommended that Van Tromp, who had evinced such an irreconcilable hatred for De Ruyter, should be superseded. The States-General confirmed the finding of the Commission, and summoned Van Tromp before them at the Hague, where he appeared at their bar on the 23rd of the same month, and was informed by De Witt that their High Mightinesses had revoked his commission of Lieutenant-Admiral of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, and they forbade him to return to the fleet or to quit the Hague without their permission, for they feared that disorders might be excited by the crews of the war-ships who were devoted to him. 1667.

Tromp's commission revoked.

The Count d'Estrades, on hearing of Van Tromp's dismissal, immediately proposed, on the part of the King of France, to confer upon him a command in the French Navy, with an annual pension of 50,000 livres. The reply of our hero did him honour, while no one had doubted for a moment that it would be a refusal. "It is highly flattering to me that a great King like Louis XIV. should have caused me to receive so munificent an offer; but were I to accept it, I should feel that my country would be humiliated that any one of her children should see cause to abandon her. I only desire that my resignation under misfortune should be a reproach upon her justice; but my honour and my duty oblige me to submit to her will."

Louis XIV. offers him a command in the French navy; his noble reply.

Since he was no longer to be employed, he retired into the country, where the country-house inhabited by him still bears the name of "Tromperburg," and here he remained until 1672, when the murder of the brothers De Witt opened the way to his restoration under the proclamation of William III. as Stadtholder. In the bitterness of faction Van Tromp was charged

1673. with having had some cognizance, if not share, in this horrid event; but for this there is not a particle of truth; and the accession of the political party to which he belonged to the highest authority in the State recovered for him the position of Lieutenant-Admiral in 1673, and brought about his reconciliation with De Ruyter.

Tromp is restored to the service.

At midday, 28th May, Lieutenant-Admiral Van Tromp, with a squadron of six ships of war, joined the fleet of De Ruyter at Schoonewelt, and as this was the first opportunity he had had for seven years of raising his flag, he came up with all the ceremony imaginable, making a circuit of the fleet until he arrived under the stern of the flag-ship, where he saluted the Admiral-General, and went on board to pay his personal respects. De Ruyter's simple good-nature took away much of the awkwardness of a first interview, and all that had to be said on the part of Van Tromp, was written in a despatch from the Prince of Orange, which was now delivered to the Admiral. As soon as the Deputies came to visit the fleet, the Lieutenant-Admiral gave a grand dinner to the whole Council of War, at which every demonstration of deference and respect was publicly interchanged between the rivals; but, while yet at table, the English fleet was announced to be in sight, at four in the afternoon of June 1st.

Indecisive action. Death of Schram, June 7.

It had been resolved by the Council of War that the fleet should remain with a spring on their anchors to await the attack of the combined English and French fleets. The latter, under the command of D'Estrées, came into conflict with Van Tromp's squadron about noon of the 7th June. The enemy had the wind, but the Lieutenant-Admiral luffed his bows so as to keep as close to it as possible. Vice-Admiral Schram led the van, but soon after the commencement of the battle he was killed by a cannon-ball, and thus closed a very distinguished career. De Ruyter, having changed the tack, sent notice of it to

Van Tromp, who had been, however, so deeply engaged that he had gone a-head out of the line, and De Ruyter, apprehensive that his squadron might have been overmatched, ordered the fleet to tack about and come up with Van Tromp, about six o'clock, whom he found so nearly overcome, owing to the junction of Prince Rupert with D'Estrées, that he had been obliged to shift his flag twice, from the "Golden Lion" to the "Prince," and from the "Prince" to the "Amsterdam." Night put an end to the battle, and the Dutch fleet anchored on their own ground, while the enemy sailed away to their own shores. The manœuvring of the fleet by De Ruyter, when he tacked and retacked to aid Van Tromp, was greatly admired by both fleets. 1673. —

On the 14th June the combined fleets were again in sight, and De Ruyter determined to change his tactics, and to sail to their encounter. At about noon Van Tromp, in the forepost of the Dutch, and Sir Edward Spragge in that of the combined fleets, met and engaged with so much resolution that Van Tromp, after having been forced to shift his flag twice, was so near being overcome that he afterwards laid a serious charge against Admiral Sweers for not yielding him sufficient support, although his poor colleague had been himself so ill-treated that at eight at night he had glad to steer away towards his own shores; but Van Tromp, in his letter to the States, takes credit to himself alone for having obliged his antagonist to retreat a little before dark. Encounter of Sir Edward Spragge and Tromp, June 14.

At the Council of War that was held in expectation of a third engagement, Van Tromp adopted a different view of the course to be adopted from his chief, De Ruyter, asserting that they should seek after the enemy, and bring him to action wherever they might find him. The decision of the Council was, however, against this recommendation, and it was resolved that the fleet should take post at Schooneweldt, as before, and carefully guard against a descent on the coast. At

1673. — a subsequent Council, however, on the 28th June, the former plan of proceeding was changed; and it was resolved that the fleet should go to sea, and cruise for the enemy on the English coasts. The antagonistic fleets manœuvred now in sight, and now out of sight of each other, until, on the (10th) 21st August, the Dutch fleet arrived between Petten and Kamperduin, and, being only two leagues from land, resolved to attack the enemy. Accordingly, De Ruyter gave the signal to tack about; and in the most masterly manner secured the weather-gage, while Van Tromp, becoming the rearmost squadron, found himself again opposed to the English Vice-Admiral, Sir Edward Spragge.

Desperate encounter between Sir Edward Spragge and Tromp, Aug. 21.

"The remarkable incident of this battle was the conflict between Van Tromp and Spragge. These two Admirals seem to have entertained a particular passion, for they had been constantly opposed to one another in every battle since the Restoration; and Sir Edward, in a good-natured *braggadocio*, promised Charles II., when he took leave of His Majesty, that he would bring him Van Tromp either alive or dead, or lose his own life in the attempt. They were now engaged with all the rage, or perhaps, more properly, the heat of war, and remained close to one another from a quarter-past eight o'clock to a quarter-past eleven at noon. They fought at once with both guns and swords: no ball fell in vain into the sea, but each ship pierced the other as if they had fought with spears. Van Tromp's flag was on board the 'Golden Lion,' and Spragge's on the 'Royal Prince,' 100. At the end of three hours, both their flag-ships were so shattered that Van Tromp shifted his flag to the 'Comet's Tail,' and Spragge shifted his to the 'St. George,' when the fight was again renewed with greater fury than before. At length this latter ship became disabled, and Sir Edward thought fit to remove again into the 'Royal Charles;' but before the boat that carried him had rowed ten times its own length from the 'St. George,'

it was struck by a cannon-shot, and that great man was killed, to the great grief of his generous adversary, as well as of all his ship-mates; for Spragge was the love and delight of all the sailors, as well for his noble courage as for the gentle sweetness of his temper[1]." 1673. Death of Sir Edward Spragge.

In this same action Vice-Admiral Sweers, between whom and Van Tromp there had lately been so much warmth, also met with a glorious death, together with Vice-Admiral de Liefde, and both their bodies were carried in great pomp and laid in the Old Church at Amsterdam, where a noble marble monument, erected at the public expense, records their memory. A donation of 2000 livres was also voted by the State to the widows; and, at the same time, a donation of 6000 was voted to De Ruyter, and 4000 to Cornelis Van Tromp, "in recompense of the great and valuable services which had been rendered by them to their country in the late encounters." Death of Sweers.

Peace having been obtained from England, Holland resolved to turn all her energies for her preservation against the designs of France. The Stadtholder took the field by land, and the fleet, being in good condition, was to be employed against the sea-board of the enemy. De Ruyter, with the greater part of it, went to sea on the 24th May, 1674, and sailed for the Antilles; and Van Tromp the same day sailed for the shores of France, along which he cruised for several months, creating great alarm to the population and fishermen. On the 23rd June he anchored near Belle Isle. On this intelligence the Duke de Chaulnes, who was Governor of Bretagne, assembled 10,000 peasants under arms at Brest. The Dutch troops, under the Count Horn, disembarked and got possession of a castle, on which they raised the Orange flag; but, finding they could not do any efficient service, they re-embarked on the 1st July, carrying off three guns and much cattle. Van Tromp next proceeded to the Isle of Noirmoutier, where he 1674. Van Tromp insults the French coasts.

[1] Bishop Parker's History.

1674. — disembarked his soldiers on the 4th. This island is situated on the coast between Bretagne and Poitou, and is about three leagues in length and seven in circumference, being divided into two parishes, consisting of about 2000 houses. It is separated from the mainland by a very narrow strait, which is nearly dry at low water. As the royal troops were assembling, Van Tromp drew up his ships to defend this passage; but, after having raised contributions and ruined the dwellings of the peasants, Horn re-embarked his men on the 22nd July, and the Admiral-General ran down the shores of the Bay of Biscay, and down to Cadiz, where he arrived on the 26th. Here the Dutch Expedition was received with great respect; and having rested there till the 7th September, proceeded into the Mediterranean; but shortly afterwards it was recalled by the States, and the fleet cast anchor in the Texel on the 4th December.

1675. Van Tromp visits Charles II. and is Knighted. In 1675 Van Tromp received a very flattering invitation from King Charles II. to visit his Court; and although De Ruyter at his age had declined a similar honour, Van Tromp was young enough to accept and enjoy the excitement of the visit. The Prince of Orange, who loved Van Tromp, carried him to the Brille, where three yachts assembled to carry the renowned Lieutenant-Admiral from his shores; and when he arrived on the English coast, on the 16th January, the Dukes of Monmouth, Buckingham, and many other grandees, met them, and escorted him to the capital, where the streets were crammed with the people desirous to see an enemy of whom they had heard so much. The King conferred the honour of Knighthood upon him, and entertained him royally until the end of February; when, on taking leave of him on his return to Holland, he made him a present of his picture set in diamonds.

War with Sweden. On the 18th June, 1675, the States-General declared war against Sweden, then in alliance with France

against her; and the King of Denmark entered into the confederation with Holland. Van Tromp was on this occasion sent into the Baltic to co-operate with the Danish fleet, under Admiral Adelaar. In 1676 Van Tromp appeared in the Sound with fifteen sail, and assumed the command of the allied Dutch and Danish fleets, in the roads of Copenhagen, on the 12th May. On this occasion, the King of Denmark visited the Lieutenant-Admiral on board his flag-ship, and decorated him with the distinguished Order of the Elephant. 1675. — 1676. Tromp goes to the Sound.

The Danish Admiral, Niels Juel, had obtained a drawn battle against a superior naval force of the Swedes, between Schoonen and Bornholm, the first days of June; when Van Tromp, issuing from the roads, in which he had remained at anchor, arrived near Valsterbon on the 9th, where he came in face of a Swedish fleet of fifty sail, and pursued them to the south of Oéland, which they reached on the 11th, when Van Tromp brought the enemy to battle. Early in the fight the flag-ship of the Swedish Admiral, the "Three Crowns," 134, blew up, which so intimidated the fleet that they hoisted sail to fly, but were pursued and again brought to action; when, after an hour and a half, another great Swedish ship of the line, carrying the yellow flag, was blown up, with about 650 men that formed her crew, the fleet again attempted to get away, leaving the "Neptune," 44, behind them, which was burned by mistake after she had surrendered. The Dutch lost several officers, killed and wounded, but pursued the Swedes near Stockholm, when the Lieutenant-Admiral anchored at Koogerbocht. On the 6th July the King of Denmark desired to make a descent upon Schonen; and Van Tromp summoned the Governor, and opened a cannonade upon the place, under fire of which he disembarked 3000 men. He afterwards was sent to invest Christianople, of which he obtained possession

1676. on the 15th. But the King of Sweden, roused at this unexpected conquest, brought up an army of 18,000 men; and a great battle was fought near Helsinburg, between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, on the 14th December, which ended in a drawn battle, after great carnage; but on the 9th January, 1677, the Swedes recovered possession of the fortress.

Great battle between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, Dec. 14.

The King of Denmark, anxious to bind Holland nearer to his interests, raised Van Tromp to the dignity of Count, and induced him to go back to the Hague, in the middle of February, to obtain increased assistance; but finding the Prince of Orange about to relieve St. Omer, besieged by the King of France, he accompanied the army, and then heard of the death of De Ruyter of his wounds in Sicily. It was universally recognized in Holland that Van Tromp should succeed as Admiral-General, which was conceded him; he was, however, permitted at the same time to retain the privilege of remaining in the service of the King of Denmark, to whom in his new dignity he carried a fleet of fifteen sail, having Van Nès under him as Vice-Admiral, and Allemonde as Rear-Admiral.

1677. Tromp is made a Count by the King of Denmark.

He arrived in the Baltic at a time when the Danes had been somewhat worsted by the Swedes, on the 11th July, and forthwith attacked three Swedish vessels at Maalmuyen, which he reduced to ashes, and made many captures in the Baltic, while the two Kings contended for the mastery by land. Van Tromp, uniting his fleet with that of Niels Juel, made a descent on the Island of Enland, which is opposite Kalmar, against which Admiral Bielhi had opened fire, and the confederates obtained possession of both places. Success now made the King of Denmark so bold that he resolved to make an attempt on the Isle of Rugen, and summoned Van Tromp to Copenhagen to give his counsel in the enterprise. On the 16th September the King repaired on board his flag-ship, and the Admiral-General landed the forces,

Timely arrival of Tromp in the Baltic.

and assigned the direction of the siege to Marshal de Goltz. In the meantime Van Tromp hastened to join the Elector of Brandenburg at the siege of Stettin, which surrendered to the fleet. The united strength of the confederate powers was now turned against the Isle of Rugen, which Count Konigsmarck defended until, on the 22nd September, 1678, Van Tromp again appeared before it with the united fleets, when Konigsmarck, finding himself overpowered, withdrew the Swedish army to Stralsund; but after a short delay, in placing that place in a state of siege, the Elector carried it by assault, and the Count having done his utmost, escaped imprisonment with difficulty. Van Tromp was now recalled to Holland, and, on the accession of the Prince of Orange to the throne of England, was given the supreme command of the Dutch fleet, in 1691; but when preparing to enter into the conflict between Admiral Russell and the French fleet, under the Count de Tourville, he was, on the 29th May, suddenly seized by a mortal disorder that put an end to his life at Amsterdam, on the 11th August, 1691, in his seventy-second year. He left no children by Margaret de Raaphost, his wife, and his body being consigned to the tomb of his father at Delft, the marble has closed upon a family of very great and just renown.

1677. Tromp assists in the captures of Stettin and the Isle of Rugen. 1678. Death of Cornelis Van Tromp, Aug. 11, 1691.

I do not think that in the entire round of naval heroes of every age and country there could be pointed out one who "braved the battle and the breeze" with greater personal daring as a fighter, and equal skill and experience as a sailor, than Cornelis Van Tromp; but he was possessed of the infirmity so graphically described by Shakspeare:—

Character of Van Tromp.

"Jealous and quick in quarrel,
Seeking the bubble reputation e'en in the cannon's mouth."

He retains a high place for dash and gallantry amid the galaxy of naval warriors that adorned the great

1691. — His jealousy of De Ruyter and unworthy behaviour to Sweers great blots on his memory.

Batavian Republic in the seventeenth century; but he aptly fulfilled the rest of the military picture. His jealous rivalry of De Ruyter may have been aggravated by party, as doubtless the one was a personal friend of the Pensionary, and the other a devoted adherent of the house of Orange; but he carried his rivalry beyond all bounds of subordination, and more than once left his chief in the lurch, even in the midst of the battle, and this to such a degree, that but for the Admiral-General's transcendent generosity of character disgrace must have been brought on the national flag by his conduct; while, upon another occasion, his outrageous bearing towards his brother officer and comrade, Vice-Admiral Sweers, was accompanied with so much acrimony and indignity as was calculated to murder his reputation, and doubtless was in some way the cause of that gallant fellow's death in the subsequent battle. After a most vigorous inquiry Sweers was acquitted of every charge that Van Tromp laid against him, and was reinstated in his rank and employment, while De Ruyter, in the report he made of this inquiry to the States-General, stated "that the accusations brought against the Vice-Admiral appeared to have proceeded solely from an old grudge."

I have been unable to meet with any account of the private life of our hero, nor of the opinion put upon him when, in 1675, he visited the Court of Whitehall. No very great evidence of love and affection was shown him at his death. His funeral was adorned with heraldry, and four Captains held the pall when his body was laid in the tomb of his father, according to the Presbyterian custom in such cases, without a prayer, and, for all I can ascertain, without a sigh from man or woman. No marble records his memory [1].

[1] Vie de Corneille Tromp, par Richter; Vie de Adriantz de Ruiter, par Gérard Brandt; Lediard's Naval History of England; Conversations Lexikon; Biographical Dictionaries, *passim*.

JAMES, DUKE OF YORK.

LORD HIGH-ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.

Born 1633. Died 1701.

It is not recorded that the heavens were disturbed by any prognostics to herald the birth of a Prince whose life was marked by the establishment, in his despite, of a civil constitution to his country that has been a marvel to the world. Yet he was moulded in his character by a Church that has claimed and still claims to have the power of miracles, and assuredly, of all men that ever lived, he merited these exercises in his behalf, for he risked every thing for the Roman Catholic faith, and even forfeited a brilliant military renown by his subserviency to the priesthood, while he lost a mighty throne in the endeavour to put back the clock of civilization and to mar and destroy the early reputation with which his name is best associated.

1633. — Birth of James, Oct. 14, 1633.

This second son of Charles I. of Great Britain and Henrietta Maria of France was born at St. James's Palace, on the 14th October, 1633, and baptized by Archbishop Laud in the Chapel-Royal by the name of James, in memory of his Stuart grandfathers. According to a custom prevalent in the Royal Family of England since the days of the Plantagenets, and already at this time dating back two centuries and a half, the King created the infant the same day Duke of York. He was remarkable in his cradle for his extreme beauty, in singular contrast to the extreme ugliness of his elder brother, afterwards Charles II., and he became from that or some other cause the favourite and best beloved child of his mother.

Charles destined him from his earliest years to the naval service, and directed his education with that ultimate view. He acquired by this means a great habit of application to business, and, like all the youth of the time, was initiated in all the athletic pursuits of his day, and esteemed to be a young man of great courage. Naturally he had no vivacity of thought, invention, or expression, but was always remarkable for a steady judgment in affairs, and for a man of

1642. understanding, energy, and spirit. In 1642 he and his brother, the Prince of Wales, were with the King at the battle of Edgehill, where they had incurred great risk of capture, and were sent off the field under the charge of Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon. The Duke of York, was also with his father at Oxford, and

1647. generally at his side in all his fortunes, until 1647, when the King quitted Oxford for Newark, to place himself at the head of the Scots' army, when the Duke of York was left behind to encourage his adherents to hold the head-quarter, and thus he fell into the hands of the Parliament forces when Oxford surrendered.

He was at this time fifteen years of age, and was committed to the charge of the Earl of Northumber-

land, who received the Prince in his country-house at Sion with all the respect that was agreeable to his quality and duty. While with the Earl he received much valuable instruction and information. When the King his father came to Hampton Court Palace, which was within a ride of Sion, the young Prince saw him frequently; but on the 20th April, 1648, all the royal children were removed to the palace of St. James's. Charles had entertained very lively apprehensions that his enemies might revenge themselves upon his children, and in consequence entrusted them to Colonel Bamfield, who had been placed about him, with a secret commission to aid in the boy's escape whenever a fit opportunity offered. Thus it was that, all things being arranged, the Duke of York and his governor walked out of the garden at St. James's, the day after their arrival, disguised in female attire, and across the park to the river, where they took boat, and were thus safely conveyed below bridge to a small vessel lying in the Pool, which had been prepared for his reception. There he embarked and reached the Hague, where he was affectionately received by his sister, the Princess of Orange; and here he happened to be when an event occurred of some bearing on his fortunes.

1647. —

1648.

Escape of the Duke of York to Holland.

The late King had in his lifetime made the Earl of Northumberland Admiral of the royal fleet, and had ordered it to be inserted in the Commission that he should enjoy that office during the minority of the Duke of York, so that it was a thing known and talked of by the whole fleet, that the young Prince was to be their Admiral. It may be said that seamen are in a manner a nation by themselves, a humorous, brave, and sturdy people—fierce and resolute in whatsoever they are inclined to, somewhat unsteady and inconsistent in pursuing it, and jealous of those to-morrow by whom they are governed to-day. These were the men, who, observing the general discontent of

1648. — the people, and that however the parliament was obeyed by the power of the army, both army and parliament were grown very odious to the nation, concluded that the King should be restored; and, remembering that the revolt of the fleet was the preamble to the loss of His Majesty's authority every where else, and "a great cause of all his misfortunes, they now thought it would be a glorious thing for them if they could lead the way to His Majesty's restoration by thus declaring for him. This was an agitation among the common seamen without communicating itself to any officer of even the quality of master of a ship[1].

The fleet then went out of the Downs and stood for Holland, "that they might find their Admiral," but as soon as it was known that the fleet was at Helvoetsluys, the Duke repaired on board, and was received with the liveliest acclamations. The Prince of Wales, at Paris, had received such timely notice of the disposition of the fleet, that he repaired with what haste he could to Calais, attended by Prince Rupert, the Lord Horton, and the Lord Colepepper; but when he understood that the fleet was gone to Helvoetsluys, and that his brother had been received on board, he hastened away to Holland, and was received by the fleet, of which he assumed the command by right of birth. Though the Duke was exceedingly troubled to quit the fleet, which he had been persuaded to look upon as his province, yet he could not but acknowledge that his father's pleasure, if it could have been obtained, would not have permitted that both their lives should be ventured on board the fleet, and he therefore the more readily submitted to the Prince of Wales' determination, and withdrew to shore, and was well content to obey his pleasure to remain at the Hague, until, after the

The Duke is received with acclamation.

[1] Clarendon.

King's death, when he removed to Paris, and placed himself there entirely at the disposition of his mother. 1648.

As the Duke of York had now attained to the age of a young man, when of all things inactivity is the most irksome, he listened with avidity to those who infused into his mind that it would be to his honour to learn the *métier* of arms in the field, in order that he might hereafter be enabled to assist his brother if he should at any time be called upon to serve him in his restoration to the throne; and he saw that he might at this time have the opportunity of doing so under a General reported equal to any Captain that had ever appeared in Christendom. Accordingly, in the spring of 1652, 1652. he urged his suit to the French Court with so much importunity that he obtained permission to join the French army and report himself to Marshal Turenne, who received him with all possible demonstrations of respect in his camp at Chartres. His Royal Highness was accompanied in his campaigns by Colonels Berkeley and Wesden. The Duke enters the French service.

The Duke has left a very faithful and intelligent memoir of his service in French, and the recital proves his natural military abilities; he had likewise the good fortune to obtain the esteem of the Marshal, so that he acquired much reputation as a Prince of signal courage and parts, and was universally beloved by the whole of the French army. His affable demeanour indeed captivated so much, that he was absolutely left in command of the French army, with the commission of Lieutenant-General, when Turenne took up winter quarters in November, 1655.

At this period, however, the French King concluded peace with the English Commonwealth, and Cromwell urged Mazarine that the Stuart Princes, and all their retinue of royalists, should be required to quit the kingdom of France, and especially that the Duke of York should lay down his commission in their army. Accordingly, His Royal Highness removed to Brussels,

1652. — where the Spanish Viceroy allowed him to join the army of the Prince de Condé, then commanding a Spanish army in the low countries, as a volunteer, and here His Royal Highness served the campaigns of 1656-7. The terms of the treaty with Cromwell stipulated expressly that Dunkirk should be besieged, and, after many delays, on the 12th June, 1658, Marshal Turenne invested the place. Don John of Austria, natural son of King Philip of Spain, received the command in chief, and the Duke of York, with his brother, the young Duke of Gloucester, were present with the Spanish army in the defence of that fortress. An unsuccessful attempt to disturb the siege on the 2nd June was made by the covering army, but Dunkirk surrendered within a few weeks afterwards; James was on this service witness of the gallant conduct of the *habits-rouges*, of which he duly gives his testimony in his memoirs. On the 7th November, the same year, the treaty of the Pyrenees was concluded between Spain and France, and the *métier* of a soldier was henceforth closed against the young Prince, and it was long before the opportunity occurred again to him of witnessing war on shore.

1656-7. The Duke serves under Condé, then commanding a Spanish army.

1658.

But a more important occurrence to James was the death of Oliver Cromwell, on September 13th of the same year. Of course the hopes of restoring the English King was universally entertained, and circumstances favoured the expectation on every side. It became soon known that the entire nation of Great Britain and Ireland were sick of the Commonwealth; and that even the son of the Protector, who had been proclaimed to the Sovereignty, refused to take upon himself the task. Singularly enough, the intercourse between Turenne and the Duke of York had nourished such an attachment between them, that the Great Marshal himself entertained the chivalrous notion of recovering the kingdom for Charles II., and the Duke of York was communicated with, and had even pre-

Death of Oliver Cromwell.

pared himself to act in conjunction with his illustrious friend; but before the expedition was matured it was found inexpedient, and it fell to the ground. 1658. —

Another overture had been made to the Duke of York before the restoration: he had made such friends with the Spanish authorities, that Charles III. offered to make him *El Amirante del Oceano*, which dignity James accepted, and was impatient to enter upon the duties of the office; but before he could do so, he was summoned to go on board the British fleet at Schevening, in May, 1660, when he raised his flag as Lord High-Admiral of England. 1660. James, Lord High Admiral of England.

We may believe that, with all the proverbial spirit of the "new broom," the Duke of York began his settled life in England with the regular and devoted occupation of the administration of the Navy, with Sandwich and Pepys to assist him; but his Paris bringing-up soon threw him into the worst dissipations of a capital; and his brother Charles was not a more thorough-going rake and profligate than James was. Having seduced Ann Hyde, the daughter of Clarendon, he would have cast her off, if the wily Chancellor had not been too strong for him; but he neglected her without the slightest scruple on account of the marriage tie, and was as dissolute as the rest of society. Let his private life, however, have been what it may have been, it is believed that he was a good and efficient administrator of the Admiralty, for although he had had but a few weeks' experience of the sea-service, his education had been always with a view of his becoming Lord High-Admiral, so that the occupation was most genial to him. Profligacy of Charles II. and James.

Trade, which has ever been the life-blood of English prosperity, was becoming a matter of much thought after the political machine had righted itself. It was deemed to have considerably suffered by the rivalry of Holland, which, by the unwearied industry and patient endurance of her people, had obtained pos-

1660. session of almost all the great arteries of commerce. James accordingly entered upon all the bearings of his new duty with great zeal, and he became President of a Commercial Company, which soon attained the zenith of its glory, and brought in great profits to the proprietary and to the nation. Here he was brought into close rivalry with the Dutch, but being young, enterprising, and somewhat unscrupulous, he pushed forward the interests of his company with an arbitrary spirit; so that finding himself thwarted by vessels of war belonging to the Republic, he secretly despatched Sir Robert Holmes, with a squadron, to make reprisals on the Hollanders, who had, he believed, broken the treaty they had entered into with the English, and had possessed themselves of Cape Corse Castle and Goree by main force. Holmes took both these settlements in a few hours, and thence stretched across to North America, where, in conjunction with Sir Robert Carr, he captured a territory planted by the Dutch, and called by them Nova Belgia. This was now captured, and out of compliment to the Duke, called New York. The States summoned back De Ruyter out of the Mediterranean to put a stop to these proceedings, who took a strong fleet down the African coast, and even to the West Indies, where he retaliated severely on the English; all which evidenced that it was very clear that both nations were "drifting into war."

James sends out a squadron, which captures Nova Belgia, called in compliment to him New York.

1664. In winter, 1664, King Charles II. openly declared his resolution of entering into a war with the Dutch. Accordingly, the Duke of York had the duty imposed on him of fitting out a great fleet; for the Dutch had been most active in preparing theirs, which was soon ready for sea, under the chief command of Opdam, Sieur de Wassenaar. The Duke, as Lord High-Admiral, commanded in person the powerful British fleet that now sailed from Portsmouth, under his flag on board the "Royal Charles," 80.

Charles declares war against the Dutch.

It consisted of 114 ships of the line, and 28 frigates and bomb-ketches. When the opposing fleets met in Solebay, off Lowestoff, on the 3rd June, 1665, it is well known what accident disordered the Dutch, and what advantage the English obtained: so that if that first success had been followed, as was suggested, it might have proved fatal to the Dutch, who, finding they had suffered so much, sailed away; and the Duke ordered all sail to be set to overtake them; but there was a Council of War called to concert on the method of action they should adopt when they should come up with them. In that council Penn, who commanded under the Duke, happened to say that they must prepare for hotter work in the next engagement, for he knew well the courage of the Dutch was never so high as when they were desperate. 1660. — Battle of Solebay, June 3, 1665.

This made a visible impression on the council, who said to the Duke that he had now got honour enough, and had no need to venture a second time. In what degree these words may be supposed to have affected the Prince, so it was that after the council had separated His Royal Highness went to bed, desiring to be called when they should get up to the Dutch fleet. In the night, Lord Brounker, who was one of the Duke's bed-chamber, came to Penn, as from His Royal Highness, and said that the sail was to be slackened. Penn was struck with the inconsistency of such an order under the circumstances, but obeyed it, instead of going direct to the Duke to argue the matter, as he ought to have done. When the Duke had slept, he, upon his waking, went out on the quarter-deck, and seemed amazed to see the sails slackened, and that thereby all hopes of overtaking the Dutch fleet were lost. The Duke professed displeasure, and he questioned Penn upon it; Penn put it upon Brounker, who said nothing. The Duke denied he had given such order; but he neither punished Brounker for carrying it, nor Strange conduct of Lord Brounker.

1665. Penn for obeying it. He, indeed, put Lord Brounker out of the service; but Penn became more in his favour after that than ever before, which he continued to his son after him, though a Quaker, and it was thought that all that favour was to oblige him to keep the secret[2]. King James, in his "Memoirs," gives a different account of the affair; but something of the kind occurred without any question. Nevertheless, although the advantage had thus been lost, one of the most signal victories had been gained. The Dutch Admiral Opdam's ship, "Eadraght," 84, had been blown up, while engaged with the Duke of York in his flag-ship; and the Duke was so much in the thickest of the fight that three of his attendants were killed by his side; yet such was the prejudice against His Royal Highness at the miscarriage above related, that James was not allowed to go to sea for some years, and was content to remain at home to superintend and direct the civil duties of his high office at the Admiralty.

Unpopularity of James through not pursuing the Dutch fleet.

1671. In 1671 his first wife[3], Ann Hyde, daughter of the banished Earl of Clarendon, died, leaving two daughters, who successively ascended the throne of the kingdom. She had recently given birth to a son, who was called Edgar, in remembrance of a famous King of Scotland, who had styled himself "monarch of the seas." This child followed its mother to the grave within the twelvemonth. The fact that transpired at the death of the Duchess of York, that she had in her last moments received the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of Rome, greatly scandalized the nation. The daughters, who were left at the early ages of nine and six, were not at this time in the immediate prospect of succeeding to the throne;

Death of Ann Hyde, Duchess of York.

[2] Burnet.

[3] His second wife, as is well known, was Mary Beatrice of Modena, mother of the "Warming-pan Child," the first Pretender.

nevertheless, as it was very well known that James was in his heart a Roman Catholic, apprehensions rapidly arose among politicians that the Crown might revert to a Papist succession; so that when, soon after his wife's death, the Duke of York made a formal abjuration of the Church of England, before Simons, a Jesuit, a strong prejudice was raised in the public mind against him, which soon bore fruit. The Test Act speedily followed James's change of religion, and the Revolution not many years afterwards. 1671.

At the commencement of the second Dutch war, in 1672, His Royal Highness once more commanded the English fleet in person, when united with the French squadron, under the Maréchal d'Estrées. The combined fleets lay at Solebay in a very negligent posture; and indeed the Earl of Sandwich, who commanded under the Duke, had given His Royal Highness warning of the danger of the position, but received in reply (it was said) such an intemperate and insolent retort upon his courage and foolish fears in the counsel he offered, as hurt him in his tenderest feelings, and in the end led to that gallant Admiral's untoward death. De Ruyter, who with Cornelis de Witt was now in charge of the Dutch fleet, was not a man to lose such an advantage as was here open to him, and, but for the devotedness of Sandwich, the fleet of the allies would have been utterly destroyed by their fatal carelessness. The Dutch attacked the Duke's flag-ship, and fought it for two hours with a fury that had never been exceeded in any previous maritime conflict. James again displayed the same degree of spirit and gallantry which he had shown in the previous action, and in the end the Dutch retired, but the English were in no condition to follow them, and the loss was nearly equal on both sides. 1672. Second battle of Solebay.

The scandal attending the death of Sandwich now, however, made the Duke of York unpopular with the

1673. fleet, and the passing of the Test Act in 1673 deprived His Royal Highness of all further participation in the military service of the country, of which he was openly declared incapable. His Royal Highness, at the end of the session of Parliament which had passed that Bill, carried all his commissions to the King, and wept as he delivered them into the hands of His Majesty, who immediately put the Admiralty into commission, as it has remained to this day.

The Test Act deprives James of his command.

The two naval battles at Solebay, in 1665 and 1673, were the only two in which James, Duke of York, commanded at sea. They were both marked with some infirmities in a leader—the first, in defect of vigorous resolution in following up his first success—the second, in unaccountable carelessness and negligence in omitting preparations against a surprise or attack of the enemy. The personal courage of the man, which is much insisted upon by the concurrent testimony of history, is little to the purpose, because bravery is an accident in any man, and only to be considered in its rare deficiency; and indeed in the naval engagements of the times all that could be shown of personal bravery was in resolution and endurance in combat, for we rarely read of his having led in the boarding of an enemy's ship; for the principal incident that happened in any fight was but a cannonade, lasting till one or other vessel either went down or attempted to escape as it could. Perhaps a Commander-in-Chief could show no more in the naval strategy of those times than any Captain of a ship; and consequently most of the actions at sea in the seventeenth century were considered, more or less, drawn battles. The Duke of York, though he had a quick relish for pleasure, followed business with that closeness of application which the King, his brother, wanted: but he himself was deficient in that quickness of apprehension, that natural sagacity,

Character of James as a naval commander.

and *apparent* benevolence of temper, which were so conspicuous in the King; for he was, in his disposition, what rarely happens together in man, revengeful and valiant in the same degree: nevertheless the courage he had displayed in the first Dutch war rendered his name very popular with the Navy to the end of his life. It is scarcely worth while to recount the meagre campaign which ended in the battle of the Boyne, but although its termination was prompt and unfortunate, James evinced military judgment in the occupation of the ground, and gallantry in defending it. 1673. —

When he quitted the Irish soil he abandoned the crown hopelessly. The best that can be said of James Duke of York as a warrior was that he gave earnest attention to the business of the Admiralty, and was regarded in his time as having done good service to his country in that respect; although his understanding was slow and narrow, yet he was diligent, methodical, and fond of business. Never were two men who ever lived so unlike one another, as James Duke of York in his manhood, and King James II. in his dotage. Mistaken man as he was in his judgment upon most occasions, yet he was a sincere and, when he thought himself in the right, a daring and a bold, without being a bad, man. James was a good Prince, although he was a bad King. He is said by some to have had an amiable disposition, but by others to have been obstinate, hard, and unforgiving. He was a libertine, and an unprincipled adulterer, yet fond of his wives, and beloved by them. In his deportment he was affable, although stately, and had a manner of bestowing favours with a peculiar grace, so that even an intimate friend had the pain of a refusal softened to him. He was shrewd enough in many cases to anticipate solicitations by the speedy disposal of the place that he knew to be coveted. Though scarce any one was so generally

Character of James.

1673. abandoned by associates and friends as it was his fate to be, yet few Princes ever had so many who really loved him; and in his exile many who had injured him by desertion at the Revolution, flocked around him in his abject fortune to implore his forgiveness, and grieve over the injuries they had committed against him.

Pernicious influence of the French Court on his career.

He hated free institutions with an unquenchable hatred, and with unflinching hostility, although he had scarcely the justification of having witnessed the excesses of the great rebellion, for he was a mere boy at Edgehill. The Restoration might, at any rate, have healed that sore; but the influence of the French Court had perverted both his morals and his religion, and the evil in his mind was culminated by his personal association with Louis XIV., then at the height of all the arrogance of Divine right and absolute power. James died at St. Germain, 1701, before the moral was apparent enough to be appreciated, for he did not live to witness the retribution of fortune in the French monarch's declining days[4].

[4] Rapin, Hume, Clarendon, Burnet, Macaulay, Campbell's Admirals, Grainger.

MARSHAL DE TOURVILLE.

FRENCH ADMIRAL.

Born 1642. Died 1701.

ANNE HILARION DE COTENTIN, Count de Tourville, was of an ancient stock in Normandy, who had signalized themselves in the service of war as far back as the Crusades; and down to the seventeenth century was well known to fame. His father, César de Cotentin, was a Captain in the Royal Army in 1632, and subsequently First Gentleman and Chamberlain to the Prince de Condé, whom he had accompanied in a military capacity to the wars. Having become known to the King on some of these occasions, Louis XIII. made him Counsellor of State, and, in 1640, entrusted him with the defence of the Duchy of Burgundy, having the Counts of Tavannes and De Montreval under him as Lieutenant-Generals. He married Lucie de la Rochefoucault, a daughter of the Marquis de Montendre, by

1642. — Birth of Tourville.

whom he had a family of four girls and three boys, the youngest of whom, our hero, was born in Lower Normandy in 1642, when his father was absent in Burgundy. It had been the ordinary custom of French noble families, that the youngest sons should be brought up for the Church, or devoted to the Order of Malta. This order was a favourite destination in France, for out of seven nations of which it consisted, three belonged to the French. The Count de Tourville, accordingly, proposed to obtain admission for his son Hilarion, who must take an oath to go to war against the Turks, which they had not done for three centuries.

1656. Is made a Knight of Malta.

The premature death of his father, however, in a considerable degree affected this arrangement. Our hero was, in fact, received into the order as Chevalier at the age of fourteen, but only to obtain for him a good military education, to which the boy's disposition now pointed.

The young Hilarion de Tourville was his mother's pet, and the most beautiful boy that can be imagined—fair, long hair, blue, speaking eyes, clear complexion, and regular features; but all this beauty, which was of too feminine a cast for the outside world, matured into the most active, agile youth, with an understanding beyond all his playmates. He accordingly became soon the pet of the school, and, as an ordinary consequence in French life, was in due course the pet of the petticoats. His schoolmaster's daughter fell so violently in love with him that she could not restrain the candid avowal of her affection; and this being overheard by a schoolfellow, the Count de Malet, who had flattered himself that he had established himself in the young lady's graces, a hostile meeting with swords ensued, and De Malet was disarmed by De Tourville, and, but for the timely interference of the schoolmaster, blood might have flowed. The fair cause of the fight was prudently removed to a convent; when our hero became "cock of the school" for his superior prowess in love and war. He continued at this school till 1659,

when he hoped to obtain a commission; but the peace of the Pyrenees at the close of that year, which assured peace to France and to Europe, prevented the attainment of it at that time; and he had given up all hopes of employment, when, just on the point of his returning to his home, he heard accidentally that M. d'Hocquincourt, the son of the Marshal of that name, was constructing at Marseilles a frigate of thirty-six guns, for which he desired volunteers to make a cruise against the Turks. He accordingly applied to his uncle, M. de la Rochefoucault, to be the medium of an offer from him to take service in the career of a corsair of the Levant. 1660. — Volunteers against the Turks.

He was but eighteen years of age when he entered upon this phase of his existence. The frigate first stopped at Malta, where De Tourville landed, in order to pay his respects to his chief the Grand Master of the Order, and to set up the banner of his family arms. The entire period of the frigate's stay in Lavalette harbour was marked by dinners and balls, to which all the young volunteers were invited. But it was remarked that De Tourville showed no pleasure in them, but preferred to occupy himself in acquiring a knowledge of the sails and ropes, and to converse with the old hands upon the *métier* of the sea. The residence of the Knights of Malta was always simmering with hostility to the old Turk, and accordingly it was not difficult to find a brother ready to accompany M. d'Hocquincourt in a brush with the infidel. This was an old pirate of the name of Cruvilier, who commanded a frigate mounting twenty-four guns. The two consort vessels quitted the island together in 1661, and ran for Zante, with a view of getting some intelligence of the Turkish Navy. They met, near the Isles of Starivalli, two Turkish men-of-war, one having an Admiral's flag, and bearing forty-two guns, and another of thirty-four guns. D'Hocquincourt and Cruvilier, nothing daunted at their superior condition, boldly attacked, and when 1661. De Tourville distinguishes himself in an encounter with the Turks.

1661. the Turks attempted to board, bravely resisted a most impulsive attempt. Then it was that the young volunteers showed their mettle; and foremost of all was young De Tourville, who in the most fearless manner drove the Turks from the deck, while the sailors cut the rope ligaments, and "turned the knaves out of doors" ("se servirent des boute-hors"). Having thus freed themselves from dangers, they forced the enemy to fly, and drove them as far as Cape Matapan, where they beheld, doubling the cape, two Algerian pirates, led to the scene of conflict by the noise of the firing.

The most prudent course might have been to have set all sail from such a disproportionate contest as now impended; but neither D'Hocquincourt nor Cruvilier were made of such base metal as to think of flight. The Turkish men-of-war, on seeing their advantage, put about and came down upon D'Hocquincourt's vessel, pouring a raking fire into her. The Chevalier returned it, and the cannonade on one side and the other lasted three hours; when, symptoms of weakness being apparent in the Turk, it was concluded that some mischief had happened on board her, and D'Hocquincourt summoned the boarders. De Tourville distinguished himself in this, as in the former encounters, and received a severe pike-wound in the body that laid him low, but the Turkish Admiral struck his flag. Cruvilier, about the same time, sank his antagonist; and the two other vessels sailed away; but such was the condition of the victors that pursuit was impossible. With some difficulty they reached the island of Siffanto, where they refitted the ships, and recovered the sick and wounded. Among the latter De Tourville demanded the first attention, and was conveyed to the house of a celebrated surgeon, an Athenian of the name of Jany. Of course, a French biography would be intolerable without a love story on every page, and an unusual opportunity for such an episode occurred on this occasion. Dr.

Action with Algerine pirates, in which Tourville is wounded.

Alleged romantic episode in the life of Tourville.

Jany had a daughter Andronique—"taille fine—port majestueux—traits réguliers—yeux brillants, mais doux —peau très-blanche—teint du plus grand éclat." What youth of twenty could fail to make love to such an angel— 1661.

"Where the virgins are soft as the roses they twine"?

"Femmes qui lisez cette histoire, vous blâmez cette jeune fille; mais, en sa place, vous auriez peut-être agi de même[1]."

Be that as it may, a very interesting interlude is built upon this romantic attachment. De Tourville is given the command of the Dutch Admiral's ship, and carries her to sea, having made arrangements with the Doctor's daughter to elope with him in a shore-boat. At the moment of departure two Tunisian vessels arrive in port, and capture the beautiful Athenian *en route*, but D'Hocquincourt and Cruvillier become masters of the Tunisian ships; on which De Tourville sails away without his Andronique, shares in the conflict, and releases some Christian slaves, together with a gentleman of Pereau, with his wife and sister-in-law, whom our hero very gallantly proposes to escort to Smyrna. On the way, however, he casts anchor at Siffanto, when he visits the Doctor, whom he finds enraged against him for having stolen away his daughter; but while De Tourville assures the distressed parent that he has not got her, he receives a letter from his friend D'Hocquincourt, naming that in the scramble of the Tunisian fight the Chevalier had got Andronique and carried her off to Zante, promising to return to Malta. As it were to head the runaways, De Tourville takes the Doctor and his Christian ladies with him to Malta, but no D'Hocquincourt had been heard of there; and, as it is winter-time, he determines to remain in the island till the spring. In the interval the Doctor

[1] Richter.

1661. dies; and as he is convinced his daughter is dead, he makes our hero the heir of all his property.

De Tourville is now tired of inaction, and, having made acquaintance with a corsair of the name of Casini, he proposes a cruise, and bethinks himself of his promise to convey the two ladies and gentleman, his Christian captives, to Smyrna, "elles étoient jeunes; la tendresse ne pouvoit manquer de se joindre à leur reconnaissance." On their way they come across some Turkish vessels, which they board with wonderful bravery, one after the other; and, having captured them all, go through the prizes to ascertain what they are worth, and find they principally contain Christian captives, and amongst them "la belle Andronique!" "'N'est-ce point un songe,' dit-elle en poussant une soupire, 'puis-je en croire mes yeux? Est-ce bien vous, cher Cavalier?' 'Oui, c'est moi, belle Andronique,'" &c., &c. After a short interval he carries her to Venice, where he places her in a convent; and then our hero undertakes, with Casini and another, a little new privateering. Such is the summary of an interlude gravely introduced by Richter, as part of the history of the gallant De Tourville, in 1662, and which occupies nearly 100 pages of his biography! But a terrible postscript ensues from events that have to be related in 25 or 30 following pages. The slippery Athenian, who has passed through so many adventures, could not be held even within the walls of a convent, and Andronique actually marries another man! while, on the other hand, it is stated, "Pendant son séjour à Rome il arriva au Chevalier de Tourville quelques aventures galantes."

However, at length we reach the fact that De Tourville, having tired himself of privateering, quitted
1666. the Adriatic in September, 1666, and is very graciously received at the Court of St. Germain's in the spring of 1667, where the King flattered him by the as-

surance that his heroic deeds against the Turks had been the talk of all France, and that in the hope of attaching him to his service, he had given orders for his appointment to the rank of Capitaine-de-vaisseau. 1666. — De Tourville received at the Court of Louis XIV.

So long, however, as Louis XIV. remained at peace with England, Holland, and Denmark, the opportunities of naval war were somewhat diminished, and De Tourville availed himself of the leisure afforded him by a domestic life with his mother and brother, and other friends of his family. In the following year, however, he heard a report of a naval expedition being about to be despatched to the island of Crete, and he repaired to the Court to seek for employment. It happened that on the day he arrived at St. Germain's, the King was about to bestow three *bâtons* of Maréchal de France, on the Marquis de Crégny, De Bellefonds, and D'Humières, when De Tourville's curiosity induced him to remain in the royal apartments to witness the ceremony, in company with the Count de Château-Regnaud, a young naval aspirant like himself. The latter jokingly remarked that "'Selon toutes les apparences, nous ne pouvons nous flatter, ni vous ni moi, de parvenir à cette dignité.' 'Pourquoi non?' répondit De Tourville. 'Il faut toujours avoir en vue le plus haut degré dans la route que l'on suit, le désirer avec ardeur, et n'oublier rien pour pouvoir un jour l'obtenir.'" M. de Château-Regnaud replied, that such a hope was all very well for soldier-officers, but no naval men could aspire to the honour of being a Marshal in France, and he ended by saying, "Je crois ne rien hazarder de vous promettre un diamant lorsque vous serez Maréchal de France; vous ne risquez pas davantage de m'en promettre un lorsque je le serai;" and, singularly enough, both friends in the result earned their diamond bets. Anecdote of Château-Regnaud and De Tourville.

The King of his own act nominated De Tourville to the command of a ship in a joint expedition which he resolved to send for the relief of Candia, 1669.

1669. under the Duc de Beaufort and M. de Navailles, in 1669, which had but a disastrous result, and the fleet returned to Toulon in August the same year. For De Tourville personally this service added something to his reputation, for he became such a favourite with Louis XIV., that His Majesty carried him in his suite through a grand tour that the Court made in 1670 to the Flemish frontier; and he was at St. Germain's when, the year following, war was formally declared by France against Holland. Through the interest of his kinsman, M. de Rochefoucault, he now obtained a command in the fleet that was placed under the command of Vice-Admiral Le Comte d'Estrées to act with a fleet from England, under the Duke of York.

De Tourville commands a ship in an expedition to Candia.

Louis XIV., indignant that the little Republic of the United Provinces should have the presumption to think to check his career of conquest, became desirous of putting his fleet into a condition to oppose the famous De Ruyter with the renowned fleet of Holland, and gladly availed himself of an alliance with England, to send a well-conditioned naval force of fifty ships to the rendezvous of the united fleet at St. Helen's,

1672. in 1672. Louvois, his able Minister of Finance, was driven to every conceivable expedient to get the funds required for this costly expedition, and the Comte de Bentheim, who was accredited to the Court of St. Germain's from the States, was secretly gained over to obtain supplies of gunpowder and arms from Holland, which the Dutch are said to have sold to France to enable her to act against themselves. This was not the first time these thorough-merchants had done the like, justifying the unpatriotic act by the assertion, that if they could gain an advantageous commerce with the devil himself they would risk the fire of his fingers to carry it out. The hostile fleets came to action in Solebay on June 1st, when the Dutch squadron, under Vice-Admiral Bankert, was the

Battle of Solebay.

opponent of the French fleet, under D'Estrées. The navy of France has been more celebrated at all times for the perfection of their constructed ships than for the manner in which they have been fought or navigated, and on this occasion the French Admiral, immediately he was attacked, set his sails before the wind and went down the Channel, leaving the Dutchman with his inferior craft to follow him, fighting as he could. Bankert was, however, both a bold and resolute antagonist, and pursued, burning one French ship and sinking another; but the policy adopted by D'Estrées, and the slight influence of the French force in the battle, gave rise to the misgiving that, as backwardness in war is not the characteristic of the French nation, the Vice-Admiral must have had secret orders to spare his own ships, while the Dutch and English should weaken each other by their hereditary animosity. Almost every action by sea in which the French now took part tended to confirm this supposition. 1672. Strange backwardness of the French.

The published annals of the French naval actions are so meagre and so vague that it is impossible to gather any particulars as to the part taken by the several officers employed in their several actions. "Le vaisseau du Chevalier de Tourville soutint le feu des ennemis avec une fermeté incroyable[2]." "Le Chevalier de Tourville força celui contre lequel il se battoit de prendre la fuite[2]." "Le Chevalier de Tourville s'y distingua au point que le Comte d'Estrées, écrivant au Roi pour lui annoncer le gain de cette bataille, donna de grands éloges à ce chevalier[2]." In the following year the Comte d'Estrées again commanded a French fleet of thirty ships of war, of which De Tourville commanded one, and was then united with an English fleet commanded by Prince Rupert. The combined fleets attacked De Ruyter moored off the coast at Schooneweldt. On this occa- 1673.

[2] Richter.

1673. sion Van Tromp opposed D'Estrées. It is again related that "all the French squadron, except Rear-Admiral Martel, kept at a distance," and all that we hear of the French Vice-Admiral, in this naval campaign, was that he wrote to the Minister Colbert: "Je voudrois avoir payé de ma vie la gloire que Ruyter vient d'acquerir."

— Lukewarm conduct of the French in an action off the Dutch coast.

At the close of the year all the fleets returned to their respective ports, and as soon as he landed, De Tourville repaired to the Court, where D'Estrées, like a good courtier, vaunted the praises of the young chevalier as "un des meilleurs officiers que Sa Majesté eut dans la marine." The death of his younger brother, in 1674, recalled him for a while to his family; whence, after having mingled his tears with those of his mother and elder brother at the family seat of Tourville, he returned to the Court to look after his material interests. Here, having found a warm friend in M. de Seignelai, the Minister of Marine, he got named to the command of a ship of war ordered to carry assistance to the revolters at Messina.

1674. De Tourville receives the command of a ship.

This expedition was under the command of M. de Valbelle. The revolters had obtained possession of all the forts commanding the road of Messina, with the exception of San Salvador; and in consequence the Spaniards had sought the aid of the allies of the Spanish Crown to crush the rebellion; accordingly a considerable force, under Don Bertrand de Guevara, had already entered within the Faro to resist the landing of the French. However, M. de Valbelle disembarked the few troops he brought with him, and obliged the governor of San Salvador to surrender. It became soon apparent to the King that the expedition that had been sent was unequal to the occasion, and, accordingly, a larger one was organized of nine ships of war, besides many other sail, which arrived on the 11th January, 1675, under

1675.

the Duke de Vivonne. The united force of the two expeditions overcame all resistance, and Messina was entered in triumph, and taken possession of by the French. "*Ce beau fait d'armes*" is recorded to have happened in this year's service by the Chevalier de Tourville off Reggio; when in command of "La Syrène," one of the squadron of M. d'Almeras, and in conjunction with M. de Lery, he cut out of harbour at midday a Spanish frigate of twenty guns, in the teeth of the shore-batteries. De Tourville was now raised to the rank of *Chef-d'Escadre*. 1675. De Tourville captures a Spanish frigate.

The Spanish King, feeling his inability to cope with Louis XIV. by sea, invited the States-General to lend him the services of the famous De Ruyter with a Dutch fleet; and that of France was strengthened and better organized, and Admiral Du Quesne was placed in command of it, M. de Vivonne being now shelved with the dignity of Maréchal de France. Nothing is recorded of our hero in the naval battle of Stromboli, nor in the subsequent one in which De Ruyter perished, in 1676, excepting this record of his biographer, "que le Chevalier de Tourville y donna les plus grands preuves de courage et de capacité—Ruiter en parla avec des éloges;" and the year 1678 brought out the Peace of Nimeguen.

Our hero had established his reputation both in his profession and at Court; and, therefore, when in the year 1680 Louis XIV. had the desire to amuse the Queen with a grand pageant, it was suggested that there should be held a great naval review at Dunkirk; M. de Tourville was therefore named by His Majesty to conduct it. Accordingly, about the middle of March, a small fleet having rendezvoused, the King and Queen arrived at the fortress, and went on board a yacht prepared for their Majesties' reception. De Tourville took the helm of the royal yacht, to be at hand to explain the manœuvres. The weather was fine with a light breeze, and all the vessels were put 1680. De Tourville reviews a fleet at Dunkirk in the presence of Louis XIV.

1680. — on different tacks, and contested with each other to gain the wind or to keep it, and such-like exercises of sails and yards. The next morning was a sham fight, and all the means of boarding the enemy or repelling boarders were represented to the satisfaction of the King. The Chevalier de Tourville explained all these matters to the King, to His Majesty's great delight.

1682. De Tourville named Lieutenant-General of the Navy. On the 1st June, 1682, the King nominated the Chevalier de Tourville Lieutenant-General of his naval armies; and, having ordered an expedition to be prepared against the Barbary pirates, which had been entrusted to Du Quesne, he went to sea to watch the coasts of Provençe, and returned to Toulon at the fall of the year.

1683. He captures a Spanish ship. However, in May, 1683, De Tourville had the good fortune to meet with a Spanish ship of 14 guns and a crew of 150 men, and captured her after a rude combat.

Notice of Colbert, the great French Minister. In 1683 died the famous Colbert, Marquis de Seignelai, the celebrated Finance Minister of France. He merits notice in this place because he was one of the first French statesmen who gave his attention to the Commercial and Royal Marine. He made both Marseilles and Dunkirk free ports, and founded the dockyards of Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort, and improved the Navy in all its branches. France is also indebted to this Minister for the colonies he established in the East and West Indies. Colbert was, in his origin, descended from the Scotch family of Cuthbert, and seems to have retained many of the characteristics of his race. If not a Puritan, he went as near the wind in his religion as the Most Christian King his master could endure; he has the credit of opposing Louvois and Louis XIV. in regard to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which, in less than two years after his death, was carried out, Madame de Maintenon encouraging her lover in these terms: "Il n'y aura bientôt plus qu'une religion dans le royaume: c'est le sentiment de M. de Louvois, et je le

crois là-dessus bien plus que M. Colbert, qui ne pense qu'à ses finances et jamais à la religion." 1683.

The death of Colbert deprived De Tourville of this his best friend about the King. The Marquis de Louvois, who succeeded as First Minister, had never favoured him, but he was now colleagued with Du Quesne in the expedition of this year against the Barbary pirates.

In April, 1684, Louis XIV. determined to punish Genoa, because, under the shelter of that Republic, every kind of intrigue had been hatched against France. A fleet was therefore consigned to the charge of Admiral Du Quesne, and De Tourville. On the 5th May the fleet drew up before the city, and, after about ten days' negotiation, opened fire upon it on the 17th, doing very great injury to the public edifices. On the 24th it was resolved to make a descent, and De Tourville, accompanied by his nephew as a volunteer, headed this with 200 men, which was successful; but the death of the only surviving son of his elder brother occasioned him intense grief, so that he could scarce continue his duty. He does not appear to have done more than fire the suburbs and return to shipboard, when the bombardment was renewed, but the fleet soon retired beyond the Mole, and the enterprize was given up. Du Quesne was now recalled, with the principal portion of the fleet, to France; but De Tourville remained in command of a squadron of observation, consisting of five ships of war and four galiots, to cut off the port from all commerce until the Doge made his submission. 1684. Attack upon Genoa. De Tourville blockades the port.

The first condition insisted upon was, that the Doge and four Senators should repair to the foot of his throne and implore his royal forgiveness. Accordingly, they repaired on board De Tourville's flag-ship, who conveyed them to Marseilles, whence they repaired *par la diligence* by way of Lyons to Paris, which they reached on the 18th April. It was not, however, till Insolent treatment of the Doge of Genoa by the haughty Louis.

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1684. — the 15th May that they had their audience at Versailles, introduced, like any ordinary Foreign Minister, by M. de Bonneuil, *Introducteur des Ambassadeurs*, notwithstanding that as Doge he was both a Prince and a Sovereign, and entitled to higher honours. The Doge, in full habit of ceremony, was carried to his audience in one of the King's carriages, but he was not allowed any escort, nor was he received by any guard of honour at the great entrance. Every trifling incident was contrived in the cabinet of this mightiest of sovereigns to humble and to *bully* these most inconsiderable Republicans. This is the French account of the transaction: "Rien ne paraît plus tristement bouffon que de voir avec quelle morgue fière ce matamore Louis XIV. se prélasse de toute la hauteur de la France, si cela peut dire, au dessus de cette pauvre république, inoffensive et incapable de résister seule. C'était un bien niais et bien misérable triomphe que celui de recevoir en grande pompe à Versailles aux yeux d'Europe le Doge Lascaro humilié, soumis et repentant!"

1685. Expedition to Tripoli. Express orders of Louis XIV. to De Tourville.

In 1685 an expedition under the Maréchal d'Estrées was sent to Tripoli to restrain the excesses of the Barbary nations upon French commerce, and in the instructions given, under the hand of the King himself, to the Maréchal, dated Versailles, 13th April, 1685, we find this paragraph: "Ayant estimé du bien de mon service de faire repasser incessamment l'envoyé d'Alger avec les esclaves qui lui seront restitués, j'ai donné ordre au Chevalier de Tourville de se rendre promptement à Toulon pour cet effet."

Arrogance of De Tourville on meeting some Spanish ships.

In the course of the cruise of 1685 De Tourville encountered, on the 2nd July, near Alicante, the flag-ship of the Spanish Vice-Admiral Papachin, who was returning with two ships of war from Naples. Tourville was in a fifty-gun ship with two small frigates; but he summoned the Spaniard to salute the flag of France with nine guns, and, on a refusal, he fired into the flag-ship for an hour and a half. Of course the

Court of Spain was indignant at this outrage, and Europe chafed under such insults, so that the insufferable arrogance of the French in every land and every sea united the hostility of all the nations of Europe against Louis XIV., and hastened his just retribution. 1685. —

The French, who twenty years before had scarcely a ship of war in any of their harbours, had raised themselves by perseverance in a judicious policy to become almost the first maritime power in Europe. While in alliance with the Dutch and English they had learned and had attained to the rudiments of the difficult art of ship-building, and had now acquired great experience in the method of fighting their ships, and of rearing a school of officers who could preserve order and system in naval engagements. The King likewise maintained a powerful army, so that the preparations for war he was in a condition to make were most formidable. It is here we are to fix the point of the highest exaltation to which Louis XIV. had ever attained. But that monarch, though more governed by motives of ambition than by those of justice and moderation, was still more actuated by the suggestions of vanity. He insulted and domineered over all the Princes and States of Europe, and thereby provoked their resentment without subduing their power, while those who approached his person, and behaved with submission to his authority, were treated with marked favour and politeness; even the highest potentates had successively felt the effect of his haughty, imperious disposition. Nevertheless, by indulging in unprecedented pomp and display, and employing all the flatteries of poets and courtiers, he succeeded in the establishment of an empire of *ton* in France, which set up more extensively than could have been done by his power alone, a system of universal superiority over all the civilized world. "Such a supremacy was in its very nature transitory. Empire, to be permanent, should be founded on justice,

Rapid rise of the French Navy.

The power of Louis XIV. at its highest elevation.

1685. morality, reason, and personal liberty; that of Louis XIV. was dissolute, showy, superficial, arbitrary, and notoriously unjust [3]."

The events with which our hero is connected are henceforth so interwoven with the characteristics of his Sovereign that, having related the aspect of affairs from an English point of view, it will be interesting to take a view of them from a French historian:—

The marriage of Louis XIV. with Madame de Maintenon only confirms the King in his insolent policy.

"L'année 1685 est celle qu'on assigne à la célébration du mariage clandestin de Louis XIV. avec Madame de Maintenon. De ce moment il parut s'être survécu à lui-même. Ses résolutions furent dorénavant inspirées par l'orgueil ou la superstition. Aucune ne fut conçue dans l'intérêt véritable de sa grandeur et de sa prospérité, et la plupart précipitoient la ruine de sa monarchie. Sa conduite à l'égard des étrangers n'étoit ni plus juste ni plus prudente. Il suffrit que le Maréchal de la Feuillade lui érigeât sur la Place des Victoires un monument où un luminaire brûlait devant sa statue, aux pieds de laquelle les nations de l'Europe étoient représentées vaincues et enchaînées. Il maintint à Rome, malgré le Pape, les franchises de l'ambassade française où tous les vagabonds ou malfaiteurs de l'Europe chercheroient un asile. Les autres puissances en possession d'un semblable privilége avoient renoncé à ce droit scandaleux. Pressé par le Nonce de les imiter, il répondit avec hauteur, 'que Dieu l'avoit établi pour servir d'exemple aux autres.' Ses usurpations appuyées par tant d'arrogance revoltèrent tout l'Europe. Le Prince d'Orange devint l'âme d'une nouvelle ligue, qui prit le nom du 'Ligue d'Augsburg.' L'Empereur, l'Empire, l'Espagne, la Hollande, le Savoie et presque toute l'Italie se coalisèrent contre la France [4]."

1688. The war broke out between the League of Augsburg and Louis XIV. in 1688, who as soon as it

[3] Hume. [4] Bonnechose.

was declared despatched an army to the Rhine, which the Dauphin was to command under Maréchal de Duras, His Majesty at the same time, without issuing any declaration of war, seized all the ships of Holland that were found in French ports, and fleets were ordered to rendezvous at Brest and other arsenals. De Tourville was designated to the command of a squadron of five ships of war, and the King desired that he might give him his instructions himself. His pleasure was that he should sail with all expedition to the Channel, and there capture every Dutch ship he could meet. Our hero had scarcely quitted Brest with his squadron, on the 2nd July, when he sighted two ships in the offing which he took for an enemy, and immediately gave chase. After a stubborn fight (for the Hollanders are ever stout antagonists at sea), his superiority of force gave him possession, and they were found a prize of value, said to have amounted to three millions, which he immediately sent into harbour under the convoy of two ships of his squadron, and continued to cruise with the other three along the coasts of Holland.

1688. — Louis resolves on war; and seizes the Dutch ships in his ports.

De Tourville goes to sea, and makes some captures.

In 1689 De Tourville kept the new year by marrying with Louise Françoise Laugeois, widow of the Marquis de la Popelinières, and before the end of January he resigned his Cross of the Order of Malta, and, upon the death of his elder brother, assumed the title of Count de Tourville. His King complimented the alliance by signing the contract of marriage, and the wedding took place at Paris, attended with great magnificence. The Maréchal d'Estrées having been put aside with a good government, De Tourville was given the command of the fleet at Toulon, to undertake the dangerous service of carrying it to Brest, notwithstanding the obstacles which it was foreseen that the confederated fleets of England and Holland would oppose to impede their junction. He found at Toulon 20 ships of the line, 4 frigates, 8

1689. Marriage of De Tourville.

De Tourville appointed to command the fleet at Toulon.

1689. fire-ships, and other small craft; the crews of all the sail combined amounted to the respectable force of 6874 men. The fleet at Brest, consisting of 62 ships of war, was commanded by M. de Château-Regnaud, under the Minister of Marine himself, M. de Seignelai. The Confederate fleet could not bring together more than 70 sail, and accordingly the junction was happily effected in spite of them, and the command in chief of the united fleet at Brest was given to De Tourville, having the Minister of Marine over him. The King, as soon as he heard of the junction, transmitted his orders to M. de Seignelai to seek the enemy, in order to bring matters to the arbitrement of a general action; but although all parties were eager in this object they were doomed to some disappointment, as far as De Tourville was concerned, and he and the Minister quitted the fleet and repaired to the Court, where our hero rejoined his wife and passed the winter.

1690. De Tourville made Vice-Admiral-General.

In 1690 the King, in order to mark his satisfaction at the services of the Count de Tourville, named him Vice-Admiral-General of his naval army, and appointed him to the command of the Brest fleet, when he raised his flag, on the 9th June, on board "Le Soleil Royal," with a view of acting in the Channel against the fleets of England and Holland. Stress of weather obliged him to return to port, where he was joined by the squadron of M. de Château-Regnaud, having his flag on "Le Dauphin Royal," and M. d'Amfreville in "Le Magnifique," so that his fleet, composed of 78 ships of the line and 22 fire-ships, besides frigates, carried upwards of 4700 cannon. All went to sea on the 28th June with a favourable breeze, hoping to find themselves at sea before the English had left their ports. Nevertheless, when they sighted the Isle of Wight, on the 2nd July, the Confederate fleet of England and Holland was ready to receive them, the former under the flag of Her-

On the fleets sighting each other, orders sent

bert, Earl of Torrington, and the latter under that of Evertzen; but the utmost force that the confederates had assembled was 56 ships of war, Dutch and English. As soon as it was known in London that the French fleet was in sight, Queen Mary sent down a peremptory command to the Admiral to engage at all hazards, Her Majesty having received information that the Jacobites were to avail themselves of the presence of the French to excite a general insurrection, and it was therefore necessary that their fleet should be forced to withdraw from the British coasts. 1690. — from Queen Mary to engage.

There is always some confusion of dates at this period of history in consequence of the new and old style, so that the engagement that I am about to relate is said by the French to have been fought on the 10th July, and by the British and Dutch on the 30th June. However, what is more important, it took place in mid-channel, off Beachy Head, or, as the French call it, Bevezières. Battle off Beachy Head, June 30 (July 10).

Herbert made signal for close action at eight a.m., and half an hour afterwards the Dutch squadron, which formed the van of the Confederate fleet, attacked the rear squadron of the enemy under D'Estrées, and put them into some disorder. De Tourville had ranged his fleet to meet the attack in a curve, or half-moon; and it has been argued that it was indiscreet to have fixed his fleet in a formal line of battle, whereas, had he left every ship at liberty to do her utmost, the English would have undoubtedly been more roughly treated[5]. The Earl of Torrington, not being sufficiently on the alert, did not come into action till near ten o'clock, which delay occasioned a considerable gap in the Confederate fleet, and of this De Tourville availed himself, by making use of the advantage to overwhelm the Dutch, who, though they defended themselves most gallantly, were surrounded, and suf-

[5] Rapin.

1690. fered severely from the unequal conflict. They, however, with great judgment ordered their fleet to anchor; but the French, allowing their ships to ride, were carried away by the strong ebb-tide, or as De Tourville reports he should have forced the entire Dutch squadron to strike, had it not happened that, in a few minutes, the Dutch were out of danger. Moreover, the Earl of Torrington ordered the entire fleet to weigh, and stood to the eastward with the flood-tide.

The French pursue the Confederate fleet; destruction of the "Anne."

De Tourville admits, "Ils s'éloignèrent un peu de nous; nous sommes toujours en présence; le vent est toujours de leur côté." Nevertheless the French advance pressed on the pursuit resolutely as far as Rye Bay, where they came up with the "Anne," 70, on shore near Winchelsea, and sent on two ships to burn her, which her Captain only prevented by setting fire to her himself. De Tourville, however, stood in and out of the bays along the English coast, and one of his Captains attempted to burn a Dutch ship of sixty-four guns, which had got stranded in one of them, but her Commander defended her so stoutly that he could not succeed. Ultimately the Earl of Torrington retreated into the mouth of the Thames, leaving a few frigates to watch the motions of the enemy, and De Tourville remained master of the Channel.

The entire English shore was placed in the utmost confusion from the apprehension of a descent by the French in favour of the Jacobite insurrection. In fact De Tourville relates, in his report to the King, "Si les galères étoient avec moi, je pourrais tenter quelque descente; ce qui feroit un très-bon effet, et feroit mieux connoître au peuple la défaite de son armée, qu'on tachera de lui cacher." The French Admiral sent home his nephew, the Marquis de Château-Morand, with his despatch, but so far from receiving the rewards that he had so justly earned, his Government blamed De Tourville for not making more use of his victory almost

De Tourville notwithstanding his success does not escape censure.

as much as the Earl of Torrington was blamed for his defeat. The latter was brought before a Court Martial on the 10th December, but, after a full hearing and strict examination of the evidence on both sides, he was unanimously acquitted of treachery and cowardice, and of having sacrificed the Dutch. The Dutch Admiral Evertzen gave his testimony that "it had not ever been heard of that 22 ships fought so long against 82, of which 17 carried no less than from 80 to 100 guns." 1690. — Torrington is acquitted. Evertzen bears testimony to the great inequality of the contending fleets.

De Tourville returned to Brest to refit; but in the first days of August received orders to carry his fleet (after detaching a squadron to the Irish Sea) to make a descent near Teignmouth. On the 5th the boats of the French fleet, with 1800 men, landed on the Devonshire shore, under the Comte d'Estrées, and attacked an entrenchment, from which a small garrison of 150 men were easily driven, and three guns taken. The churches were then ransacked, and the town set on fire, and 116 houses burned. The next step was to burn the shipping in the roads, which consisted of nine ships of forty guns, two of thirty, and one of twenty-four, all ready for service, together with eight sail of merchant-ships, laden with leather and hosiery; the whole affair not lasting more than five hours, without the loss of a single life. The guns and goods were safely carried off and put on board the fleet, and the men re-embarked on board the ships, which, taking up their anchors, sailed to Torbay, where they created a great alarm. A commemoration of this calamitous incident is perpetuated at Teignmouth, where one of the streets still retains the appellation of French Street. De Tourville makes a descent on Teignmouth, and burns a great part of the town.

The Count de Tourville now carried back his triumphant fleet to Brest, where it was placed in winter order, while the Admiral himself repaired to the Court, and was distinguished by his sovereign with every mark of satisfaction. The Marine Minister, M. de Seignelai, omitted nothing to prove to him that he deemed him The French fleet returns to Brest.

1690. worthy of his friendship and protection, and that he had nobly sustained the glory of the French Navy. It was indeed a real misfortune to De Tourville that he lost this amiable man and firm friend before the close of the year. He was son to the famous Colbert, and died at thirty-nine years of age. On his death-bed he sent for our Admiral to take leave of him, and to commit the naval honour of France into his hands.

1691. In the beginning of the year 1691 De Tourville's wife presented him with a son and heir, and the Count de Toulouse honoured him by holding the infant at the font. The fleets of all the contending powers were late this year in going to sea. It was the end of June before De Tourville quitted Brest, with a fleet of 75 sail, and crews amounting to 32,814 men.

Admiral Edward Russell appointed to command the fleet.

Although Lord Torrington had been acquitted by the Court Martial, the King of England deprived him of his command, which was bestowed upon Admiral Edward Russell, with a fleet of ninety-one sail, fifty-seven of which were line of battle. Lord Russell was ready for sea the beginning of May; but it was late in the month before the British fleet was joined by as many as twenty-eight Dutch ships of war, so that a great part of the months of May and June were spent to very little purpose. The Smyrna fleet had been expected home in the spring; and as the English and Dutch had a joint concern therein, to the amount of upwards of four millions sterling, both nations were apprehensive of its being attacked by the French.

Russell baffles the attempt of De Tourville to capture the Smyrna fleet.

The instructions given by the new Marine Minister, M. de Portchartrain, to De Tourville had especial reference to this Smyrna fleet, of which they had express information that it had quitted Leghorn on the 7th April, and was expected to arrive in the chops of the Channel by the beginning of June. Admiral Russell had been directed to take the utmost care for its preservation; and, having appointed single ships to cruise at every point of the compass, traced it

safely into Kinsale harbour, whither he carried his whole fleet for its protection. The instructions given to De Tourville being first and foremost to capture the Smyrna fleet if possible, the French extended their observation over such an extent of sea that Russell had no difficulty in escorting the Smyrna fleet first to Scilly and then to Plymouth, where he parted with it, on the 13th July, and stood across to the French coast, sending on Sir Cloudesley Shovel to look into Brest. In the meantime, ships on both sides were encountered and taken; and De Tourville, having captured the "Mary Rose," first learned from her that the Smyrna fleet had passed by. 1691.

Admiral Russell appears to have believed that Count de Tourville had orders from his Court to avoid fighting; but it appears from "Les Archives de Marine" that the French Admiral was much reflected upon for not fighting, a long despatch being extant from M. de Tourville to M. de Portchartrain in reply to the unjust reproaches that had been made against him[6]. Russell, on the other hand, was exposed De Tourville and Russell incur con-

[6] It will illustrate the character and ability of De Tourville, and may not be without its use in naval warfare, to transcribe a sentence of this Admiral's marginal notes to the "instructions" sent him by the Minister of Marine, Portchartrain, May 26, 1691. The King had desired that De Tourville would show his flag in the Channel as a protection to the French coast, but not attack if the enemy was his superior; on which he says, "J'ai déjà eu l'honneur de le dire au Roi. Dès le moment que deux armées sont en présence et en état de se pouvoir reconnoître, il est impossible d'éviter un combat, quand une armée ennemie voudra engager l'autre et qu'elle aura le vent, surtout dans une saison où la nuit n'est que de trois ou quatre hours, et où les coups de vent ne peuvent pas faciliter une séparation. Il n'y aura d'autre expédient que d'abandonner tous les vaisseaux qui ne seroient pas fins de voile; ce qui ne se peut pas pratiquer, car ce seroit une manœuvre qui intimideroit de telle manière les équipages, qu'il seroit très-difficile de les pouvoir rassurer, lorsqu'il faudroit combattre. Tous les officiers généraux et ceux qui ont la pratique à la mer conviendront de ce fait; et que le meilleur parti (quoique inférieure en nombre) est d'attendre l'ennemi

1691. — sure for their conduct from their Governments.

to the censure of the House of Commons for withdrawing early in August to Torbay, when he found his antagonist gone into Brest, and he was directed by the Admiralty to put to sea again; but on the 2nd September he encountered a violent storm, which obliged him to send many of his ships into Plymouth to refit, after which the Dutch Admiral returned to Holland, with the first and second rates under his command; while Russell having despatched a squadron, under Vice-Admiral Delaval, to look after a French squadron reported to have gone to Limerick, returned to St. Helen's.

It is not a little remarkable that Louis XIV. should have lived for some years in close intimacy with James II. without having learned the weakness of his judgment; yet it is no longer doubtful that the exiled King had succeeded in satisfying the King of France that the English nation were so attached to the Stuart family as to be almost unanimous in the desire for their restoration. Accordingly, in the calculations and arrangements undertaken by the French Cabinet at this period, the base of operations adopted for the year 1692 was an expectation that the British fleet with its Admiral might be expected to revolt in a body as soon as they found themselves in presence of the French fleets.

James II. and Louis entertain strong hopes of the defection of the English fleet.

The truth was that King James, with all his faults and shortcomings, was better valued by the officers of the Navy than by any other set of men in England, most of them having served under him as Lord High Admiral, and many having been preferred by him when in that high capacity, which gave them a grateful

en bon ordre et de tenir une brave contenance." In the same frank spirit he answers a prohibition on the subject of *relâches*. "Le lieu des relâches dépend des vents et des accidents qui arrive à la mer. Il est de la dernière importance que toute l'armée relâche en même lieu et ensemble, par les inconvénients qui pourroient résulter d'une séparation."

esteem for his person. The Stuart agents boasted of this so far as to say they had brought back many of Russell's fleet to James's interests, including even the Admiral himself. It is admitted that Rear-Admiral Carter had been applied to by the Jacobites, but that he gave the British Government intimation of it, who ordered him to humour things, and to communicate all that he might be able to learn upon the matter. On the other hand, the Jacobites credulously gave in to what they wished, while James laid the whole matter before the Most Christian King, and procured from His Majesty an order to De Tourville "de combattre l'ennemi fort ou faible, et quoi qu'il peut arriver." 1692.

De Tourville is ordered to fight at all hazards.

King William, before he quitted England in March, to resume the campaign in Holland, gave his instructions to Admiral Russell to use all imaginable diligence in getting the fleet out to sea, His Majesty assuring him at the same time that he himself would not fail to quicken the Dutch fleet. Information had now come in with much correctness that the plan of the French King was to concert with the malcontents in England an invasion on the coast of Sussex. An army was actually assembling on the shores of Normandy, under the Maréchal de Bellefonds, consisting of about 9000 French and about 14 battalions of English and Irish troops—the whole amounting to about 20,000 men, and King James was himself in the midst of them; while Louis XIV. was at the same time in full campaign with a great army in Flanders, where he took Mons. Maréchal des Lorges was in Germany, Catinat in Italy, De Noailles in Spain; but the King looked with the greater interest to the efficiency of his navy. Several hundred transports and vessels of small draught of water were assembling in the French ports in the beginning of April, awaiting the arrival of the squadron from the Mediterranean, under the Count d'Estrées, which was to

James II. meditates a descent upon England, while Louis XIV. makes a diversion in Flanders.

1692. escort this expedition across the Channel. There happened, however, at this time such a continuance of storms and contrary winds, that D'Estrees could not come about with his squadron as soon as he hoped, and the English Admiralty had therefore leisure to collect two considerable squadrons, one under Sir Ralph Delaval, which arrived in the Downs about the beginning of March, and, the other of eighteen sail, under Rear-Admiral Carter, which was ordered to cruise as near the French coast as possible, in order to obtain the most correct information of what was going on there.

Winds and storms baffle the attempt for some time.

Queen Mary, at the head of the Regency, informed of the preparations going on, gave order for hastening the fleet out to sea. At the same time she issued warrants, under the authority of the Privy Council, for the apprehension of several suspected persons; and as a malicious and dangerous report was spread abroad that some of the officers of the fleet were disaffected to her service, Her Majesty instituted a rigid inquiry, and ordered some to be discharged from their employment, at the same time intimating to Admiral Russell that she had satisfied herself the report was "a thing devised of the enemy," and that she would take no further steps in it, which produced a unanimous address from all the officers of the fleet, "that they would with all alacrity and resolution venture their lives in defence of Her Majesty and the liberty and religion of their country."

Reported disaffection of the officers of the fleet, who in an address to the Queen declare their loyalty.

As soon as De Tourville had been apprised of the presence of an English squadron off the coast of Normandy, he weighed anchor on the 9th May, and brought his fleet to Berteaume, consisting of 37 ships of war and 7 fire-ships; but shortly afterwards he was joined by the squadron of the Marquess de Vallette, of 7 ships of the line, so that his entire fleet was raised to 44, or some say 63 ships of war and 11 fire-ships. Admiral Russell

De Tourville and Russell are each on the alert.

had raised his flag at St. Helen's on the 8th May, and began forthwith to cruise with his fleet between the Isle of Wight and Cape La Hogue. On the 11th he was joined by the squadrons of Delaval and Carter, and by the Dutch fleet, so that the Confederate fleet numbered 99 ships of the line. When, on the 27th May, these facts were made known to the King of France, who was besieging Namur, together with the address of fidelity that had been presented by the officers of the fleet to the Queen Regent, he immediately sent a courier to King James, who was encamped at Barfleur, to assure him how vain was his hope of a defection in his favour, at the same time directing orders to be despatched to De Tourville that he should on no account engage, at all events until he had assembled the several squadrons of D'Estrées, De Laporte, and De Château-Regnaud. But it was already too late by the clock for De Tourville to receive these orders, for the opposing fleets came in sight on the 28th May. 1692.

De Tourville receives counter-orders from the King too late.

As soon as the Confederate fleet could be seen in its entirety, De Tourville ordered his own fleet to lay to, and summoned a Council of War on board his flag-ship, "Le Soleil," of which we have received a circumstantial account. It was attended by the seven superior officers of the fleet; and, as soon as they were seated, the Admiral walking up and down the cabin with his hands behind his back (as was his custom), addressed them: "Messieurs, la flotte ennemie est forte de quatre-vingt-huit vaisseaux; nous en avons quarante-quatre. Faut-il combattre, oui ou non?" He addressed men of service and distinction, such as De Gabaret the companion of Du Quesne against De Ruyter, D'Amfreville, Langeron, Coetlegon, the friend and the comrade of the Admiral, termed, "son matelot," De Villette, De Relongues, Cannetier—all brave men, the heroes of many battles, devotedly attached to De Tourville. The council, taken aback, made no

De Tourville holds a Council of War.

1692. further deliberation, but determined, with one accordant voice, that to accept battle would be to expose the fleet to certain defeat and destruction. De Tourville then read to them the King's letter, ordering that they should fight the enemy under all circumstances; and one after the other, rising from his seat with his hand on his heart, each repeated successively, "En mon âme et conscience, mon avis est qu'il faut combattre." After this scene the officers returned to their ships; and the Admiral signalled, "Laissez arriver vent arrière sur l'ennemi." The Confederates' fleet was in good order by eight o'clock: the Dutch in the van, Russell in the centre, and Ashby in the rear. The Dutch squadron was commanded by Admiral Allemonde. It was half an hour after eleven before Russell and De Tourville began the fight, at three-quarter musket-shot distance.

The Council of War advise to fight notwithstanding the great inferiority of their fleet.

Commencement of the Battle of Cape La Hogue, May 28.

The battle commenced with a great deal of vigour on both sides, and was carried on until about one o'clock, when the French flag-ship had all her rigging very much wounded. About two the wind shifted; when five of the enemy's blue squadron got round the English flag-ship, which had all these ships to deal with till about four, when a thick fog fell, so that neither side could see the other. When this cleared a little Sir Cloudesley Shovel was seen in the midst of De Tourville's red squadron, and the French flag-ship was discovered towing off to the northward disabled; but, the fog growing thicker than before, the Confederate fleet anchored, and about eight at night the firing ceased. On the next morning the fog was so thick that it was difficult for either side to move; but the Dutch got sight of the enemy, and Russell chased, and in a little time the entire French fleet were in flight, and the Confederate fleet in active pursuit. So hard was the French fleet pressed, that a great many ships ran through the Race of Alderney, among such rocks

The battle is interrupted by a fog.

The French retreat.

and shoals that the pilots of the English vessels would not dare to follow them. Three great French ships ran ashore, about eighteen got to the eastward of Cape Barfleur, and thirteen hauled close in with the shore near La Hogue. Vice-Admiral Rooke was sent after them, with several men-of-war and fire-ships, and burned six of them. Delaval and his seconds burned others. In all there were eighteen ships of war taken or burned, including the "Soleil Royal," 104, flag-ship of De Tourville, "L'Ambitieux," 104, flag-ship of M. de Villette, and "La Magnifique," 76, flag-ship of M. Coetlegon, and two 60-gun ships were sunk. The English lost none but the fire-ships "which were all spent upon action." 1692. Great losses of the French.

The loss of the French fleet was sensibly felt by King James, who thereupon wrote to the King of France, from the camp on shore, "that he had hitherto with some constancy and resolution supported the weight of all his misfortunes, so long as he himself was the only sufferer, but he acknowledged that this last disaster had overwhelmed him, and that he was altogether comfortless, in relation to what concerned His Most Christian Majesty, through the great loss that had befallen his fleet[7]." James in his disaster feels acutely for Louis.

The news of the disaster that had happened to the French fleet was received by Louis XIV. with his characteristic "grandeur." "Je n'ai rien à me reprocher. Je ne commande point aux vents. J'ai fait ce qui dépendoit de moi: le reste est l'ouvrage de Dieu. Puis qu'il n'a pas voulu le rétablissement du Roi d'Angleterre, il faut espérer qu'il le reserve pour un autre temps. Tourville, est-il sauvé? On peut trouver des vaisseaux; mais on ne trouve pas aisément des hommes comme lui." As soon as circumstances permitted, De Tourville hastened to the Court, and had all the consolation that could be given to a warrior after a disaster, when his Sovereign hastened Louis XIV. receives De Tourville with great favour, and extols him for obedience to his orders against such odds.

[7] Rapin.

1692. to his coming with the remark, "Voilà un homme qui m'a obéi à La Hogue!" Laconic as was this remark, and, at first sight, commonplace, it was nevertheless a highly refined compliment before his Court, because it at once adopted to himself the cause of the defeat, and gave his Admiral credit for his dutiful obedience to his instructions. But no one could say things like this King, so that with considerable flattery, but with somewhat doubtful truth, he added, "Comte de Tourville, j'ai eu plus de joie d'apprendre qu'avec quarante de mes vaisseaux vous en avez battu quatre-vingt de mes ennemis pendant un jour entier, que je me sens de chagrin de la perte que j'ai faite." The name of De Tourville was greatly elevated by this support of his Sovereign, which was more than Majesty often deigns to confer and act upon; and there is abundant evidence that the Admiral obtained great reputation for his conduct. In the following year, 27th March, 1693, Louis XIV. nominated seven Marshals of France, and the name of De Tourville stands first on the list, although De Boufflers and De Catinat were in the same batch. As soon as De Tourville withdrew from His Majesty's cabinet, he received the felicitations of the Court as Marshal de Tourville, and at the same moment his friend, the Count de Château-Regnaud, presented him with a fair diamond, reminding him of the engagement they had made together when "brother mids" years before.

De Tourville made a Marshal of France.

Russell, notwithstanding his victory, is assailed on all sides, and dismissed from the command.

Very different was the fate of the conqueror. Admiral Russell was insulted by the Earl of Nottingham, by some letters and orders sent him from the Queen, and the House of Commons harassed him with many tedious inquiries and examinations, which raised a popular cry against him, so that it became necessary in the end to dismiss him from the command of the fleet.

1693. In the year 1693 the King directed in person his new Marshal to organize a new fleet, and De Tourville gave

such diligence to the task that he assembled seventy-one ships of war, besides fire-ships, at Brest, and, having raised his flag on the 26th May, he went to sea. The English Vice-Admiral, Sir George Rooke, had been sent with a squadron of twenty-three English and Dutch men-of-war to convoy the Smyrna fleet through the Straits. The French had obtained exact intelligence of this rich fleet, which had laid in port near a year and a half waiting for a convoy, and accordingly a scheme was laid for surprising it as it left the Mediterranean for the Channel; they had arranged that the fleet in Toulon should rendezvous, with De Tourville's fleet from Brest, in the Bay of Lagos, on the coast of the Algarves, in order to surprise it; and here accordingly, on the 28th May, ninety-three sail of the line were assembled. The English Government obtained a late knowledge of this fact, and instantly despatched the Channel fleet, consisting of sixty-nine ships of the line, to bear away for Lisbon. This, by some unaccountable disobedience of orders, was not done, and of their own accord the English flags came to the determination of remaining in the Channel, lest the coasts of the United Kingdom should be exposed to insult.

1693. — De Tourville organizes a new fleet.

Scheme for surprising the Smyrna fleet.

On the 17th June Sir George Rooke arrived off Lagos Bay, with twenty-three ships of the line, English and Dutch. These were sighted by the French scouts, who reported 140 sail fifteen leagues from the Straits. Marshal de Tourville immediately ordered the anchors to be raised, and carried the fleet off Cargos. As soon as the Dutch Vice-Admiral saw the fleet he sent a message to Rooke, that they were but four miles distant from him, and that he thought it best to avoid fighting; but Sir George thought they were already too near to think of retreating; nevertheless, in deference to the Dutch Admiral's opinion and advice, he brought to, which also gave time to the heavy ships of the convoy to work up to the wind-

The French sight Sir George Rooke in Lagos Bay.

1693. ward; but he ordered all the small vessels to run for the nearest port, in the Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz.

De Tourville attacks the Confederates, and makes several captures.

Although he had the wind so much against him as to require that the ships should tack, the Marshal led his fleet down upon the convoy and the fleet. In their course M. de Gabaret was detached with twenty-two ships of war to weather the British squadron, but he dallied and amused himself with two Dutch men-of-war and some merchantmen of the fleet, all of whom he captured with great difficulty, and only after a gallant and desperate defence. Indeed this combat was such as to astonish De Tourville himself, for when the Dutch Captains Schryver and Van der Poel were sent on board the flag-ship to deliver their swords, he demanded of them whether they were men or devils, for the one had fought eleven French ships of war and the other seven. Rooke, with fifty-four of the convoy clinging around his flag, stood away for the Madeiras, while De Tourville had to run after the scattered convoy as he could. In this way the action, if it may so be called, continued all through the two next days. Some of the flying merchantmen blew themselves up to avoid capture, but the French claim to have taken two ships of war and twenty-nine merchantmen, and destroyed about fifty more. M. de Coetlegon pursued four of the largest Smyrna ships as far as Gibraltar, but the guns opened on the French, who checked the pursuit, but held on before the rock so tenaciously that nine or more vessels fell into their hands. The French put a fabulous value on the mischief done on this occasion, placing it, "by authority," as high as sixty millions of livres, whereas if they had captured the entire fleet and convoy the estimate could not have exceeded four millions, while the value of the cargoes and men-of-war together, lost to the Confederates, could only amount to one million sterling at the farthest.

Rooke sails to Madeira.

The losses though great were much exaggerated by the French.

This disaster to their trade created a great ferment

both in England and Holland. In England the clamour attained to a great height: people scrupled not to say that the counsels of the nation were betrayed, and their suspicions rose to this quarter—the Marquis of Caermarthen and the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, the latter more immediately charged with the administration of the Navy, and who had acquired great credit with the Queen. It was said that the French had obtained information from the Government, and were thus previously acquainted with the motions of the fleets. An inquiry in relation to the Smyrna fleet was instituted, which took up much time, and held long. In conclusion, no ground was found sufficient to condemn the Admirals, as they had followed their instructions. 1693. Great discontent in England and Holland at the losses of the Smyrna fleet: an inquiry instituted.

De Tourville, instead of following Rooke to Madeira, made an unsuccessful attack on Cadiz, and, passing into the Mediterranean, sailed along the coast of Spain, destroying some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, Alicant, and other places, after which he repaired to Toulon with his collected fleet. Here the Marshal was received with a grand ovation. Tables were laid out in the streets, balls were given by the authorities and by individuals, and about 70,000 sailors, with 4000 officers, shared the hospitality that was principally addressed to the heroic Maréchal de Tourville for all his maritime success. On the 14th September he left Toulon with the Brest fleet, which he carried into port in safety on the 20th October, when he struck his flag and repaired as usual to the Court, where the King received him with his accustomed favour and distinction. De Tourville and his men are fêted at Toulon.

In 1694 Louis XIV. caused his arsenals considerable occupation in getting his fleet ready for the prosecution of the war, and Maréchal de Tourville was ordered to assume the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean, with the object of seconding the enterprize of the Maréchal de Noailles against Catalonia, and to 1694.

1694. watch the proceedings which it was apprehended were contemplated by the enemy on the Italian shores. It anchored in the Bay of Rosas, on the 24th May. The English thought to take advantage of the departure of the Maréchal with his fleet from Brest by sending a conjoint expedition, under Admiral Russell and General Tollemache, to ravage that port and arsenal, which left England on the 29th May, but returned after a most fatal miscarriage on the 15th June. The fleet was then sent to bombard Dieppe and Dunkirk, and infernal machines were employed to alarm the French coasts in the absence of the French fleet in the Mediterranean.

The English fail in their attack on Brest, but bombard Dieppe and Dunkirk.

The French fleet in the meanwhile had little duty but to convoy the supplies required by the army for the sieges of Palmos Gerona, Oslatria, and Castelfoleet, all of which surrendered to Marshal de Noailles, who then resolved to lay siege to Barcelona. De Tourville accordingly embarked men, arms, and ammunition in sufficient quantity for such an enterprise.

At length, on the last days of July, Admiral Russell appeared before Barcelona with a confederate fleet, English and Dutch, consisting of 136 sail, of which 88 were of the line; and Maréchal de Tourville, not considering himself in a condition to look such a fleet in the face, withdrew his fleet, pursuant to orders, into the port of Toulon. Here he took all the means at his disposal, by signals along shore and by scouts afloat, to keep himself well informed of the whereabouts of the enemy, while he kept a vigilant eye upon the condition of his own fleet for service, if required, by keeping it clean, and in good rigging. In this way the advices he continued to receive during the winter of Admiral Russell's force, and the estimate he had formed of his diligence, prevented the French fleet from quitting port all through the winter, and accordingly the Maréchal obtained leave from the King to repair to his government of the Pays d'Aunis, where he was

De Tourville blockaded in Toulon by Admiral Russell.

enabled to have an eye upon La Rochelle at a moment when the English were making vast use of infernal machines, which at this period had been employed in some of the ports of France with great injury to their ships and arsenals. An adventurer of the name of D'Aragne, a native of Bayonne, invented one, which was tried at Rochefort, and in a great measure succeeded; but in a similar attempt at Toulon, he was discovered, and De Tourville had him shot. At this time also an adventurer of the name of Petit laid a plan before the Maréchal for the destruction of the Spanish port of Cartagena in retaliation. As the expense of the proposed enterprise was very great, and the promised reward immense, a company was formed under the Baron de Pontis to supply the means for this object, and share the profits as a private speculation. The expedition, consisting of ships and soldiers, appeared before Cartagena on the 12th April, 1697, and so completely were the Spaniards taken by surprise that an immense booty was obtained, and all the fortifications of the port destroyed.

1694. — 1697. Successful French attack on Cartagena.

While the Maréchal was in his government he received the intelligence of the death of his elder brother in the spring of 1697. He left one son, having lost the other two, who perished on the field of honour by the side of their distinguished uncle.

The finances of all the belligerents had now, in the eighth year of the war, arrived at such a condition of exhaustion as forced upon them the necessity of devising some expedient to establish peace, which was, indeed, rendered probable already by the languor of military operations in 1696. Propositions therefore were made to the French King to acknowledge William III. as King of Great Britain, and to restore his conquests, the result being the Peace of Ryswick, concluded in October, 1697, between all the European family.

Peace of Ryswick.

Maréchal de Tourville established himself at Paris,

1697. feeling already the necessity of some repose after the part that had fallen upon his energies throughout the war. His health had been seriously affected by it, and the King perceived that he was not so constant in his attendance on the Court as he used to be. When, therefore, on the death of Charles II., King of Spain, Louis XIV. bestirred himself again to take the field against the whole of Europe, in the interest of the succession of his grandson Philip, Duke d'Anjou, he directed that his fleet should be placed in readiness for action, and sent to De Tourville to command that which should protect the Mediterranean; but the Admiral sent his duty to his Sovereign, to say that he had sufficient warning that his glass was run, and that he must dedicate the remainder of his days to heaven. The Count d'Estrées was accordingly nominated in his place, and the Maréchal lingered until the night of the 27th-28th May, 1701, when he yielded up his soul at the age of fifty-five years. He left two young children, a boy and a girl, to both of whom the King conferred a handsome dotation. The son became a Colonel in the army, and was killed at Denain in 1712, and the daughter married the Count de Bressar, and has left descendants.

Death of De Tourville, May 27-28, 1701.

His character.

The Maréchal Count de Tourville is certainly among the most eminent of the naval heroes of France, and one who has given the greatest share of maritime glory to the age of Louis XIV. He was one of the first naval commanders who may be said to have belonged to the Court; but he evinced nothing of its effeminacy, either in seeking its ease or neglecting his own calling for its fascinations. Indeed he shared in all the perils of the profession, and evinced much judgment and prudence in every command. His carrying his fleet into action, at the battle of La Hogue, at the positive command of the King, when he knew himself to be out-numbered two to one, was a most noble devotedness, and the King was generous

enough to acknowledge and reward it. He appears to have given his attention to many useful details of marine war, especially to the perfecting of signals, and to have made himself a very great adept in the manœuvres of a fleet. Perhaps also De Tourville did more than any of the sea warriors who had preceded him in making the service of the Navy a more creditable and acceptable service in France than it had previously been[8]. 1701.

[8] Vie de Tourville; Mémoires de Tourville; De Quincy, Histoire Militaire; Trognon, Histoire de France; Archives de la Marine, Eugène Sue; Life of De Ruyter; Lediard's Naval History of England.

ARTHUR HERBERT, EARL OF TORRINGTON.

ENGLISH ADMIRAL.

Born . Died 1716.

THE subject of this notice was of good Welsh blood, being a grandson of Sir Richard Herbert of Coldbroke, in the county of Pembroke, from whom was descended the celebrated Lord Herbert of Cherbury. He was the son of Sir Edward Herbert, Attorney-General to Charles I., and Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal to Charles II., when he was in exile. Nothing is, however, known with certainty either as to the place or date of his birth, and it is remarkable that one who had played so high a part in public affairs, both civil and military, should not have found a place in any biographical dictionary.

Some account of Herbert's father from

As a slight episode, although altogether foreign to the life of our hero (excepting in so far that Sir Edward was his father), it may be interesting to tran-

scribe an anecdote from Lord Clarendon:—After the battle of Worcester the King was without any Great Seal, for it had been lost there. But at Paris His Majesty employed a graver to prepare a Great Seal, which he kept himself, and never intended to entrust to any man's keeping; but, Herbert being still the holder of the office of Attorney-General, the Queen urged her son to institute him Keeper of the Great Seal, which was a reasonable promotion in ordinary constitutional practice. The King knew the man well, and had neither esteem nor kindness for him; nevertheless, when importuned, the good-natured monarch was not able to refuse it. He believed, indeed, it might put Sir Edward Herbert in good humour; and so indeed it did, for he was wonderfully delighted to have it. In 1652 the King was induced to remove from Paris, and in making out a list of those whom he intended to wait upon him in his progress, he left out the name of his Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal intentionally, because of the vexation that Herbert's doubts and difficulties always gave him. Sir Edward soon discovered that he was to be left behind, and asked His Majesty whether he might not have the honour of accompanying him; when Charles answered, "No; for he should not require any use of the Seal, and intended to make the journey without even the ease and accommodation of a coach in which he could carry it" (which in truth Charles did, putting his coach-horses into a waggon wherein his bed and clothes were carried; nor was he indeed owner of a coach for some years after). The Keeper expostulated upon the dishonour it would be to a King to be without his high officer, and to himself for being left behind; so the next day he brought the Great Seal and delivered it to the merry monarch, and solicited "that he would sign a paper, in which His Majesty acknowledged that he had received the Great Seal from him;" which Charles very willingly signed, and never saw Sir Edward Herbert afterwards!

1652. Clarendon's History.

1666. — Herbert receives his first command; and distinguishes himself in an action with a Dutch frigate.

Our hero Arthur was bred up in the sea service, and, after the restoration of Charles II., was appointed Lieutenant of the "Defiance," in 1666, and in November following was promoted to the command of the "Pembroke," frigate. In this ship he had an early opportunity of distinguishing himself; for, sailing soon after his appointment into the Mediterranean, he there fell in with a Dutch frigate of superior force, and gallantly engaged her from two in the afternoon till night separated them. That his adversary might not lose company in the darkness, Captain Herbert, with much spirit, hoisted a light; in the morning, however, the enemy had bore away, and, being the better sailer of the two, succeeded in reaching Cadiz before the "Pembroke" could get in. Herbert followed in, but found his ship had become so foul that he was obliged to have her hoved down for some repair, during which defenceless state his Dutch opponent bragged exceedingly of his prowess, and continually fired guns over his ship in defiance. After the "Pembroke" was repaired, Herbert lay ready to slip his cable at a moment's notice; and immediately he saw the Dutchman under weigh he stood after him to engage. A bloody combat ensued, and the adversary had the worst of the engagement, but, by his superiority of sailing, effected his retreat into a neutral port the second time; and our Captain could never get another chance for his revenge.

After this gallant affair, which gained him credit, Herbert returned to England with a convoy, but lost his ship in a collision with another English ship of war off Portland. This misfortune, however, did not lose him employment; for he was soon after appointed to the "Constant Warwick," and sailed in her to the Mediterranean, where, in May, 1671, he engaged for nearly three days successively two Algerine frigates, and would have captured them had not his ship been too much crippled to pursue them. In 1678 he com-

1671. Serves in the Mediterranean.

1678.

manded the "Rupert," and sailed again to the Mediterranean, where—in an action with the Barbary corsairs, when he captured his adversary—he was wounded and lost an eye. 1678. Is wounded.

In 1679 he succeeded Sir John Narborough in the command of the Mediterranean fleet, and was raised to the rank of Vice-Admiral; and his chief exploit, after he had obtained his flag, was the defence of the town of Algiers against a squadron of five frigates, which the Dey had fitted out for the purpose of obtaining compensation for the losses his people continually sustained against the vessels of England. In this service he proved himself as brave and expert an officer by land as he had before shown himself by sea; and when it was resolved to abandon the place, he directed the demolition of the defences with so much ability and success that it never again became a harbour for pirates. For these services he was constituted Rear-Admiral, and, shortly after his return home, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty. 1679. Herbert is made a Vice-Admiral; and repulses the Dey of Algiers.

On the accession of James II., Admiral Herbert was considered one of the persons most in favour with the new monarch, who caressed him greatly, and appointed him Master of the Robes, and he sat in Parliament for the Cinque Port of Dover. But this gleam of Court favour was soon overcast. Upon his being pressed by the King to promise that he would vote the repeal of the Test, he answered the King very plainly that he could not do it, either in honour or conscience. The King replied that he knew he was a man of honour, but the life he led did not look like a man having very much regard to conscience. Herbert answered boldly that he knew he had his faults, but that they were such that other people who talked more of conscience were guilty of the like. He knew that he abandoned himself too much to luxury and vice, that he had no patrimony, but that, having places to the value of 4000*l.* a year, he chose to jeopardize it 1685. Admiral Herbert refuses to support the measures of James II.

1685. all rather than comply. This conversation made much noise; for, as the Admiral had a great reputation for his conduct in sea affairs, so he had been passionately zealous in James's service from his first setting out to this day. It appeared from this that no past services would be considered by that King, if men were not resolved to comply with him in every thing. The Admiral's brother was at this time Chief Justice of England, who had been appointed, although an indifferent lawyer, for the high notions he entertained with relation to the King's prerogative. He, however, could not go the pace required by His Majesty, and openly opposed his proceedings against the Bishops.

Herbert, dismissed from the command, goes to Holland.

Admiral Herbert, being dismissed from all his employments, went over to Holland, where he was received with particular regard, and his pride and ill-temper were humoured by the Prince of Orange. Herbert is always spoken of as a man delivered up to pride and sensuality, but as having a good understanding; he had gained a name in England by his steady politics, so that the Prince understood that it was expected by the party that he should court him in the manner he himself would admire. He therefore became one of the principal confidants and advisers in all the measures respecting the Revolution.

1688. Herbert appointed by the Prince of Orange to command the fleet intended for the descent upon England.

With the expedition which the Prince of Orange meditated for a descent upon England, the naval command was committed to Herbert, whose fleet consisted of about fifty sail, most of them third or fourth rates, all commanded by Dutch officers, and about 500 transports to carry the military force of about 15,000 men, under Schomberg. It was thought a rather odd thing that while the naval force was for the most part Dutch, the chief command should be given to Admiral Herbert, and this was not much liked either by the States nor by the Prince himself; but nothing less would content Herbert. However it was understood that he represented the Prince's person as commanding

in chief, and his appointment was doubtless a politic one, with a view to engage the English fleet to come over to the patriot side, and to encourage the seamen to desert. In order to do this more effectually, Herbert first addressed a letter to his comrades in the sea service, and then stood over to the Downs with the Dutch fleet, in order to learn what effect his exhortation had produced. At the first essay his success was not promising, so that after a fortnight's cruise he returned to the Dutch coasts with a better opinion of the King's fleet and a worse opinion of the one he commanded, which was neither as strong nor so well ordered as he expected. On the 19th October the Prince of Orange went on board, and the whole fleet sailed. But a great storm arose the same night, against which it was not possible to struggle. The fleet returned to port rudely handled on the 21st. Violent storms continued to prevail during the entire month, but on the 1st November the fleet finally put to sea. On board the ships there sailed the Earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield, the Lords Mordaunt, Wiltshire, Paulet, Elan and Dunblain, Mr. Herbert, the Admiral's brother, Colonel Sidney, Sir Rowland Gwyn, Dr. Burnet, Messrs. Russell, Harbord, Ferguson, and others. The intention was to have gone to the northward, to have landed the army in the mouth of the Humber, but a strong east wind rendered this impracticable, and the signal was made to steer westward. The same wind, however, that diverted the Dutch fleet from its object kept the King's ships in the river, and, in a foggy day, they passed the mouth of the Thames undiscerned. They had now the sea open to them with a fair wind, and Torbay was thought the best place for so great a fleet to lie in, and there the army was securely landed on the 5th.

1688.

Herbert tampers with the officers of the English fleet.

Departure of the Dutch fleet for England.

The Dutch army landed at Torbay, Nov. 5.

The King's fleet, under the Earl of Dartmouth, a gallant, loyal, and active officer, stood to sea after the Dutch with a resolution to fight them; but the wind

1688. that now blew was more favourable to Herbert's course than to Dartmouth's; so that it was two or three days before the King's fleet came before Torbay. It was thought remarkable that the naval force, which James II. had cultivated with so much care, and on which he depended so much, and had placed under an Admiral who was not only a man of quality but one on whose fidelity he could absolutely depend, an experienced officer and a man extremely beloved by the sailors, should have rendered so little service to his cause: yet it does not appear that he sent them any orders; and it soon became very notorious that as soon as they had retired to the Downs, several officers of the royal fleet, known or well suspected, were summarily dismissed: it is yet more strange that the King made no use of the French power at sea, although he was in the strictest alliance with that Court, and the naval power of France had attained to such a height, as to have been readily able to contend with the Dutch and English together. As soon, however, as Lord Dartmouth saw how little it was in his power to secure the mastery, he wisely yielded to necessity and returned to the Downs. In justice to the character of James II. it may here be said that he left behind him as numerous, and, in every respect, as complete and well furnished a navy as England had to that time ever seen. Of 173 ships of all rates, 110 were ships of the line, of a tonnage of upwards of 100 tons, with nearly 7000 guns and 42,000 men.

The wind and the indecisive conduct of James II. render Dartmouth's efforts to prevent the invasion fruitless, and he returns to the Downs.

As soon as King William had settled his government he made Herbert First Commissioner of the Admiralty, and created him Earl of Torrington and Baron of Torbay; who without waiting for his patent raised his flag, and sailed in the beginning of April, 1689. 1689, in command of a fleet, consisting of twelve sail of the line, to oppose the French fleet, under M. Château-Regnaud, who had conveyed King James

Herbert created Earl of Torrington and Baron of Torbay.

and his army to Ireland, and landed them at Kinsale. Herbert's fleet was afterwards reinforced to eighteen sail of the line, two frigates, a fire-ship, and other smaller vessels. On the 29th of the month he sighted the enemy's fleet entering Bantry Bay. The French fleet consisted of twenty-eight men-of-war, most of them of 60 and 70 guns, who immediately got under sail and bore down on the British in a very orderly line, and their Admiral threw out the signal for battle. The fleets were soon warmly engaged, and continued so till five in the evening, when they mutually separated, Herbert sailing to the Scilly Islands, and Château-Regnaud to Brest. After continuing to cruise for some time, and having followed them to and fro in the soundings, Admiral Herbert put into Portsmouth, where King William came down to visit the fleet. This was thought to have been an act perfectly well judged by that Prince; for you must keep up the spirit of seamen if you expect great things from them. William remarked of the battle of Bantry Bay that such actions were necessary at the beginning of a war, although they might be rash enough afterwards; which shows the great penetration of the Prince, for it is quite true that circumstances affect the question of prudence and rashness in all military and naval affairs.

1689. —

Action in Bantry Bay, April 29.

The Earl of Torrington now gave his attention to his duties as Chief Commissioner of the Board of Admiralty, which was composed under him of the Earl of Carbery, Sir Michael Wharton, Sir Thomas Lee, Sir John Chicheley, Sir John Lowther, and Mr. Sacheverell. Loud complaints were made in the House of Commons, as soon as Parliament assembled, of the conduct of affairs at sea. Some talked of treason and treachery, or something very black in it; but in real truth the entire Government was but half settled: the funds of the revenue were low, and consequently the fleets had been sent out ill-paid, ill-manned, and poorly victualled.

Torrington made Chief Commissioner of the Board of Admiralty.

1689. The Commons, however, in defence of their own characters, threw the miscarriages upon the other department, and the victuallers of the fleet were sent for, in custody of the Sergeant-at-arms, to answer to the said complaint. Lord Torrington, however, had lost all his popularity out of doors by the short-comings of his action, for although the French had loudly ascribed to themselves the honour of the day, they had gained no advantage by it at all. However the bearing of the man at the Board was so dictatorial and offensive, that, so far from standing up for his colleagues, he consistently disparaged them, and hoped, as it was thought, to have been advanced to the high trust of Lord High Admiral in room of any Board at all.

He is superseded by the Earl of Pembroke.

However, the administration thought it better to get rid of him, and they made him resign to make room for Thomas, Earl of Pembroke, a most popular nobleman, whose appointment gave great satisfaction.

The Earl of Torrington still continued, however, in the command of the fleet. There is nothing better understood in England than the absolute necessity of assembling early in the year a strong fleet to command the Channel. Nevertheless, in the year 1690, our maritime proceedings were slow, and it was late before the Dutch sent their fleet to sea; indeed things had now so far changed, that the energy of the French brought their fleet to our shores, superior both in ships and force, and with such readiness that the English knew nothing of them until they heard that they had entered the Channel. De Tourville came forth from Brest, on the 12th June, with a fleet of seventy-eight men-of-war and twenty-two fire-ships, and, on the 20th, appeared off the Lizard, where they captured some fishing-boats. Lord Torrington was habitually indolent and reckless, as men of pleasure mostly are, and was surprised when he heard this; but, putting to sea with all the ships he had, he stood to the south-east on the 21st, leaving orders

1690. Great energy of the French in maritime affairs at this period.

for all Dutch or English vessels to join him as fast as they might arrive. The same evening he was joined by some ships, and at daylight on the 23rd he found himself in presence of the enemy. The Dutch fleet, under Evertzen, opportunely came up to him the next day. He had thus collected fifty-seven men-of-war, and would have desired to have awaited the junction of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's squadron, but the Queen Regent, alarmed at the report she had received that her father's adherents intended a general insurrection, sent peremptory orders to Herbert to fight and to force the enemy to withdraw from the English coast. 1690. De Tourville's fleet is sighted by Torrington. Peremptory orders of the Queen Regent.

The two fleets continued looking at each other; and though the English were outnumbered by about twenty sail, nevertheless, in obedience to the order the Earl of Torrington had received, he threw out the signal for action at daylight, on the 30th June, and bore down upon the French fleet while it was under sail, with their head to the northward. The action began about nine, just off Beachy Head. The Dutch led the van, and, with their accustomed gallantry, advanced so far out of the line that, although at first they gained some advantage, and put the enemy into some disorder, they outsailed the English ships, and put a great opening between the blue and red squadrons, the latter commanded by the Earl in person. De Tourville took advantage of this error, to fall furiously on the Dutch, front and flank, while Torrington, when he endeavoured to go to their support, got becalmed. Their Admiral Callemburg, however, with great daring and judgment, ordered all his fleet to cast anchors while their sails were standing. This was not understood by the French, who were carried forward by the strong ebb-tide, while they stood still, but this manœuvre arrested their danger. The continuance of the calm now obliged the Earl to order the whole Confederate fleet to anchor for the night. The Dutch Battle off Beachy Head, June 30; partial success of the French.

1690. had, however, suffered in the contest so severely that it was resolved in a Council of War the same afternoon, that it would be most advisable, in order to preserve the fleet, to retreat rather than to hazard a renewal of the engagement under this increased disadvantage. The Confederate fleet accordingly weighed in the night, and stood away towards the mouth of the Thames, and the error of the enemy in not having anchored when they drifted, gave such an advantage to the Earl that he carried off his fleet in safety, notwithstanding that the French pursued as fast as they could. De Tourville, however, remained master of the Channel, and carried the French fleet into Torbay, where it continued till the 5th of August.

De Tourville remains master of the Channel.

Both Admirals were almost equally blamed, the one for not continuing the fight, and the other for not keeping close to the enemy, yet the Confederates had had the worst of it. The English lost two Captains and two men-of-war, the Dutch six ships of the line and two Admirals, while the French did not lose a ship, and were enabled to insult the shores of England with impunity. The nation was kept at once in continual apprehension of a descent from the enemy, and of an insurrection from the friends of King James, until very happily the battle of the Boyne was fought, which gave security to the cause of the Revolution.

Great dissatisfaction, but confidence is restored by the battle of the Boyne.

The Earl of Torrington struck his flag, and repaired to London, where he was examined before the Privy Council, and justified his conduct with great firmness. The secret enemies of the Government, however, who desired to embroil matters, moved that the Earl should be impeached in Parliament. The King was much incensed against this Lord, but opposed an impeachment by Parliament, so that the Commissioners of Admiralty named a Court-Martial to be held at Sheerness to try him. The Court assembled on board the "Kent," frigate, on the 10th December, Admiral Sir Ralph Delaval being President; and the Earl was committed

Torrington is brought to a Court-Martial, but is acquitted.

prisoner to the Tower, having been the first English Admiral that had ever been called to account in such a manner. He was accused of having rendered himself a mere spectator of the battle, but in this he was unjustly condemned, and it is said by the French themselves that "he deserved to be rewarded rather than censured, since he had preserved the best part of the fleet from being totally destroyed, and the Confederate fleets had for above three hours evinced very great valour, and performed exploits worthy to be recorded in history." The Admiral defended himself with great clearness of reason, and extraordinary composure of mind, and concluded his defence by asserting that his conduct had saved the English fleet. After a full hearing, and strict examination on both sides, the Earl was unanimously acquitted. He thus came off safe as to his person, but under his general unpopularity was left so much injured in his reputation, that he never raised his flag again. The King withdrew all countenance from him, and this gave him marked mortification. His Lordship, however, continued to give his general support in Parliament to the King's Government, but did not hesitate to oppose it when he felt bound in conscience to do so, always giving his reasons, and embodying them in a formal protest. He died on the 13th April, 1716, at an advanced age. He was twice married, but by neither lady had any issue, so that his titles ceased with him at his death. Herbert left the bulk of his property to Henry Pelham, Earl of Lincoln, who had invariably been opposed to him in the politics of the times; he had no blood relationship with the family, expressly bequeathing them his property "out of respect to the stedfastness and integrity" of their conduct.

1690.

His death, April 13, 1716.

Herbert was a man of good understanding, but in his youth was profusely luxurious; he was of a selfish, sullen, and peevish disposition. In his last miscarriage it was alleged against him that it was the infirmity of

His character.

1716. his temper that made him act as he did. It was said that the orders he had received were contrary to the advice he had given, so that he determined to fight in such a manner as should cast blame on those who sent him the orders, and give them cause to repent having done so. On the other hand, his skill in sea affairs had justly gained him great reputation, and to such a degree that it may be seen, by reference to the biography of Château-Regnaud, how high his character as a seaman stood with the French Navy[1].

[1] Burnet; Campbell's Admirals; Burke's Baronage; British Naval Biography; Lediard's Naval History of England; Life of De Ruyter; Kennet; De Forbin.

MARÉCHAL D'ESTRÉES.

FRENCH ADMIRAL.

Born 1624. Died 1707.

THE family of D'Estrées occupies a foremost place in the history of France, both in love and war. It was originally an ancient noble house of the province of Artois, but subsequently some lands at Cœuvres, in Picardy, were erected into a Duché-Pairie by Louis XIV. Already in the sixteenth century we have one of the family a celebrated master in the art of artillery, then a very new science. He distinguished himself as well in the construction of guns as in the service of them; and we find him in charge of this arm at the siege of Calais, in 1558. His son Antoine was also Grand Master of Artillery to Henry IV., and it was his daughter, well known as Gabrielle d'Estrées, who was the mistress of that King. Her brother Annibal became Maréchal de France, and the father of the

Brief notice of the family of D'Estrées.

Gabrielle d'Estrées, mistress of Henry IV.

1624. — subject of this memoir, as well as of the celebrated Cardinal d'Estrées, whose "galanteries et intrigues" *illustrate* "le siécle de Louis XIV."

Birth of John d'Estrées.

John d'Estrées was the second son of the Maréchal François Annibal, and, born 1624, he was brought up from his earliest youth to the profession of arms. He commenced as volunteer, in which condition he remained some years, but passed rapidly through the gradations of rank, so that we find him a Colonel of a regiment at twenty years of age, at the siege of Gravelines, in 1644, where he received a severe wound in the right hand that maimed him for life. In 1649 he served at the sieges of Bassée and Ypres, and was made prisoner with the Maréchal de la Ferté at the siege of Valenciennes in 1656. The peace of 1659 restored him to his family and to his country, when Louis XIV. created him *Duc et Pair*, 1663; and the Duc d'Estrées served again under the King in person, in 1666.

A Colonel in 1644.

1649.

1656. D'Estrées made a prisoner at Valenciennes.

The King appoints D'Estrées to the sea service.

It is not stated what circumstances occurred at this juncture to induce the King to transfer the services of D'Estrées from the land to the sea service, but it is probable that, as about this time commenced the administration of the famous Colbert, it was part of this minister's plans to create a formidable navy for France, and he therefore looked about for young men of good family whom he might name to confer that respectability on the navy which had scarcely attached to the *Roi des Halles* in the expeditions of Beaufort against the Barbary powers[1]. Admiral du Quesne

[1] Beaufort was fond of romancing about his adventures with the Arabs, and asserted that he had cut a man in two down to his hips with one blow of his sword, on which the wits made this epigram—

"Le vaillant Duc de Beaufort,
Que tout le monde adore,
A pourfendu, ce dit-on,
D'un seul coup d'estramaçon
Un Maure—un Maure—un Maure!"

EUGÈNE SUE.

was at this time the only respectable naval leader afloat, and D'Estrées at forty years of age might have deemed this opening for receiving the independent command of a fleet as good or even a better prospect than a land service under even the King himself, amidst such a galaxy of French Marshals as were always at the King's right hand to receive his favours in the field. 1666.

In 1672 Louis XIV. joined as a confederate with Charles II. to carry out an exterminating policy against the Dutch, who had been so unhappy as to fall under his Most Catholic Majesty's displeasure for their Protestant and Republican prosperity. The two fleets were to fraternize at St. Helen's, that of England under the command of James Duke of York, that of France under the Duke d'Estrées. When united they numbered 130 sail. The King of England came down to St. Helen's to give a welcome to the French Admiral, and D'Estrées thus describes the scene:— 1672. D'Estrées appointed to the command of the French fleet.

"The flag-ship, 'St. Philippe,' had scarcely dropped "her anchor in the road, on the 13th May, when the "guns announced the arrival of His Majesty at Ports- "mouth. I immediately got into his barge and "landed, to pay my respects to the Sovereign, who "received me with especial kindness, congratulated "me on my prosperous passage, and fixed the next day "for reviewing the French fleet. Some difficulty ex- "isted at the threshold of this honour, for the King "was so fond of going on board his own fleet, that "he would never be received on board any ships "but with the manning of the yards and three hearty "cheers from the sailors, as practised by the English. "Knowing, therefore, his taste for ceremony and "parade, I resolved that I would give the King of "England, in the presence of his own fleet, and in his "own waters, such a reception as they had never before "witnessed. Accordingly I directed thirty-eight ships "of war and fire-ships to be ranged in three divisions, Charles II. visits the confederate fleet, and is received with great state by D'Estrées, May 13, 14.

1672. "each squadron under his own Admiral. The 'St.
— "Philippe,' 76, bearing the white pennon, was in the
"centre with eleven ships of the line clustered around
"the flag-ship. It was ordered that immediately the
"royal standard came into view the fleet should salute
"in succession of ships, so that a running fire should
"take effect all the time that the royal barge with
"the standard was on the water, and that as soon
"as it was raised on board the 'St. Philippe,' the
"entire fleet should fire a salvo.

"The King was received in due form by the Ad-
"miral, when at nine o'clock he stepped on board the
"'St. Philippe,' accompanied by the Duke of Bucking-
"ham, the Earls of St. Alban's and Oxford, and Lords
"Arlington and Clifford. He passed, as was his con-
"stant habit, through every portion of the ship's ac-
"commodation, and, after gracefully complimenting its
"order and propriety, he then passed to the other flag-
"ships, accompanied by myself, whom he carried back
"with him to Portsmouth, and honoured with an
"especial private audience to confer on the plan of the
"campaign. While the interview lasted a yacht ar-
"rived from the Duke of York to announce to the King
"the junction of the confederate fleets, and that De
"Ruyter, with the Dutch fleet, was at sea." Charles II.
was with difficulty restrained from going at once on
board his brother's flag-ship, but his Ministers assured
him that, with the hostile fleet in presence, it was not
prudent for him thus to risk his royal person; and His
Majesty allowed himself to be persuaded to remain on
shore. The officers of the fleet assembled on board
and resolved that the whole fleet should sail in search
of the enemy the following morning. The French
fleet upon this were thenceforth counted as the white
squadron of the confederate fleet.

Charles II. desires to go into action.

Action in Southwold Bay.

It is not necessary to repeat the circumstances that
led to the sea-fight in Southwold Bay, which have
been related at length in the biographies of the Earl of

Sandwich and others. All that remains to be said is that the French historians unhesitatingly deny that they had not borne an equal share in the fatigue and danger of the engagement, but I believe the fact is now generally admitted that D'Estrées had private instructions to let the English and Dutch be left to destroy one another, so that the French ships might be spared as much as possible. Accordingly, the French squadron were the last to leave Solebay, and, having attained the open sea, sailed towards the Channel, followed by the Dutch squadron of Lieutenant-Admiral Bankert; and in an action, in which the other contending parties suffered severely, the white squadron merely lost one ship burned, and one sunk. Richer in his "Life of D'Estrées" coolly remarks, "La perte des Français fut moins considérable, quoiqu'ils eussent combattu avec le même courage." 1672. — The strange conduct of the French the result of secret instructions to D'Estrées.

In 1673 the Duc d'Estrées carried a fleet of thirty ships of war, twenty frigates, and eighteen fire-ships into the Channel, where he joined the English fleet, under Prince Rupert, composed of forty ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. The intention of the confederate fleet was to force the fleet commanded by De Ruyter from off the Dutch coast, in order to make a descent upon the Dutch shores in aid of the campaign that Louis XIV. now waged in person against Holland. The fleets soon engaged. There were two distinct battles, the first in June, on the anniversary of the fight off Solebay, and the second on the 21st August. Both these battles were victories for De Ruyter, for he resolutely defended his country, and prevented any hostile descent being made upon its shores. The loss in the former of these actions fell chiefly on the fleet of D'Estrées; for the English, distrustful of their loyalty on the former occasion, took care this time to place them in the forefront; but, nevertheless, they did not lose a ship, although Van Tromp was their antagonist. In the battle of the 21st 1673. Battles with De Ruyter.

1673. August the white squadron (D'Estrées' fleet), forming one third of the combined line, were allowed to act as a separate squadron, and became the advance, but they ill requited this confidence, for, after a very short conflict with the Dutch squadron under Bankert, they stood aloof, and, sailing away from the body of the fleet, followed by fifteen or sixteen of the enemy's fire-ships, they remained idle spectators during the rest of the fight, and took little or no further part in the contest. The universal indignation of the English at this consistent desertion of the French fostered the disgust already felt by the nation to a war with Holland, and hastened the restoration of peace.

1676. In 1676 the Dutch sought to make a diversion on their side to draw off Louis XIV. from the war in Holland, by a project for seizing the French colonies in America, and with this view sent out, in March, a fleet of twelve ships of the line, under Vice-Admiral Binkes, armed *en flûte*, who reached Cayenne about the 11th May, and got possession of that settlement without much resistance. The Governor, M. de la Barre, having gone on leave, had left his brother, the Chevalier de Lezi, in charge, who was unable to prevent a descent; and when the troops stormed the fort, he submitted with the whole colony. The King was very much affected by this indignity, and despatched the Duke d'Estrées, with six ships of war and three frigates, with directions to recover the island from the Dutch. The French expedition arrived at the spot on the 17th December, and landed some troops, who attacked the fort on the night of the 19th-20th, and replaced the white flag. In the meantime Vice-Admiral Binkes, after leaving a garrison at Cayenne, had proceeded to take possession of Tobago, an island admirably situated as a military post; and accordingly, after D'Estrées had carried his squadron to Martinique to refit, he also followed him to Tobago, and arrived

The Dutch take Cayenne from the French, May 11.

The Dutch take possession of Tobago.

there on the 15th February, 1677. This island, lying altogether out of the Caribbean Sea, was, at the present time, nearly unoccupied. It has been termed the "melancholy isle," because its aspect from the sea is a mere mass of gloomy woods and mountains, with abrupt precipices to the shore. It might have been termed "Death's island," for its only history is the bloody fight that now occurred in one of the narrow bays in which the Dutch squadron was seen anchored, the access to which could only be effected by ships in single file. Commanding their entrance they had thrown up an earthwork, which was strongly occupied with cannon and well-garrisoned; so that on receiving the report of two officers, who had been landed with a few troops to reconnoitre it, the French Admiral found he had a more arduous task before him than he had anticipated. He resolved, therefore, to make a simultaneous attack on the fort from the land and from the seaboard, and advanced with this view on the 27th. M. de Gabaret, in "L'Intrépide," led in with his accustomed gallantry, but was disabled at the first fire, and killed on the deck, on which he had fallen, by another shot. The French, however, succeeded in firing some of the Dutch ships; but, in the attack, the flames caught "Le Glorieux," the Duke's flag-ship, from which D'Estrées escaped in a boat with difficulty just before it sunk. In the midst of burning ships on every side he learned that the land attempt on the fort had also failed; and he therefore ordered the troops to be re-embarked, and raised his flag on the first vessel he could reach. Four ships of the French squadron had been burned or sunk, and almost every Captain in the fleet killed or wounded. He contrived, however, to reach Grenada, where he repaired and refitted the four vessels that remained to him, and these he carried back to France in the month of June.

1677.

D'Estrées attacks Tobago, and meets with a most disastrous defeat. He returns to France.

The King received the Admiral graciously, but or-

1677. dered a new expedition to be prepared for the capture of Tobago, which was again confided to D'Estrées, who quitted Brest on the 1st October, 1677. As he sailed down the African coast he made himself master of the Dutch settlement of Goree; and on the 7th December arrived off the island of Tobago. Here he found the Dutch Admiral Binkes still established with his squadron, who, on being summoned, replied that he had the means of defending himself, and would do so to the last extremity. D'Estrées immediately landed his guns, but, as there was no firm road on the shore, he was obliged to make what the Americans call a *corduroy* road of felled trees, by which he was enabled to bring up guns and open a battery upon the Dutch fort. By good fortune a shell fell on a magazine, which blew up Binkes himself, and the most part of his superior officers, who were dining with him. D'Estrées energetically availed himself of the circumstance to order an immediate assault which gave the island into his hands, but not without a sharp resistance. At length, having established a garrison in Tobago, the French fleet returned to Martinique. There they rested till the 7th May, 1678, when the Admiral sailed with a fleet of fifteen ships of war, three fireships, and seven merchant vessels, with the intention of destroying the Dutch commerce in the West Indies; but, in sailing towards Curaçoa, his fleet got drawn by the currents, prevalent in that sea, amid the cluster of rocks called Aves, or Bird Islands (from the great number of birds that frequent them); and here it would seem the whole fleet perished.

D'Estrées captures Goree on his voyage to Tobago; and succeeds in his second attack on Tobago.

1678.

D'Estrées' fleet is wrecked on the Bird Islands.

This disaster is very cursorily alluded to in any French history. I cannot even find what was the extent of the calamity; all I can learn is that the remains of the fleet were picked up and appropriated by the pirates and smugglers that infested the Spanish waters. The accident is attributable entirely (according to a long despatch from the Vice-Admiral's Flag-Captain) to

the presumption and ignorance of D'Estrées, who had in fact never attained to much knowledge of naval affairs, but was exceedingly vainglorious of the casual success that had attended his command. He had probably the support of Colbert with the King, for though he remained absent from Court until the end of the war, he was ostensibly employed in the West Indies by the Minister with a view to obtain all the information in his power as to the best means of attacking the Spanish possessions in the New World. 1678.

When the Peace of Ryswick was concluded, in 1679, the Duke-Admiral returned to France. Louis XIV. must have been the very Prince of Good Fellows for the unfortunate to serve under. When De Tourville lost the battle of La Hogue, the monarch raised him to the rank of Maréchal de France, and now that D'Estrées returned, having lost his whole fleet from incapacity and negligence, his Sovereign conferred on him the same honour, for on the 24th day of March, 1681, he was created by Royal Patent, countersigned by Colbert, Marshal of France, in a stilted form of words worthy of the greatest conqueror; wherein, however, is no mention of the loss of his fleet amid the rocks of Aves. The Maréchal d'Estrées, "alla se reposer de ses fatigues au milieu de sa famille qui le chérissait." 1679. 1681. D'Estrées made a Marshal of France.

In the year 1685 the King again called the Marshal into active service, and sent him with a fleet in which Admiral de Tourville served with him to punish the Tripoli barbarians. The Marshal raised his flag on "Le Capable," and anchored his fleet off the city on the 19th June. Having reconnoitred the ground, he opened fire on the 22nd, and it would appear that gun-boats were now employed for the first time, and had a great influence in bringing the Dey to terms. On the 26th the Divan consented to release all the Christian prisoners, and to pay down 150,000 crowns in cash. After which success the Duke-Admiral returned to his cherished family; but in 1687 the 1685. D'Estrées compels the Dey of Tripoli to release the Christian prisoners. 1687.

1688. — Dey of Algiers again required correction, and the Marshal was sent with another fleet, which appeared before the city in June, 1688. From some unexplained delay it was the 1st July before Maréchal D'Estrées opened fire, which he continued till the 16th; when, having nearly destroyed the entire city, he returned, "couvert de gloire, rendre compte au Roi de son expédition." He was largely rewarded for these services, for Louis XIV. made him, on the 2nd February, 1689. 1689, Chevalier de ses Ordres, and Governor of Bretagne, with a residence at Nantes.

D'Estrées nearly destroys Algiers.

Death of D'Estrées May 19, 1707.

In this *otium cum dignitate* Marshal d'Estrées passed the remainder of his days, and died there the 19th May, 1707, at the age of eighty-three years. He had married, in 1658, Marie Marguerite Morin, by whom he had four children, the eldest of whom became, in due time, a Marshal of France, and was the same who commanded a French army in the Seven Years' War, when he gained the battle of Hastenbach over the Duke of Cumberland.

Character of D'Estrées.

I find it very difficult to form a military character of our hero. He was more than born in the purple; he was almost, like Minerva, born armed; for at twenty he was already a Colonel, and before he had even attained to any high command on shore he was made an Admiral, and given the command of fleets. Here he had the singular fate, that when he commanded in a confederation he scarcely fought at all, and when he commanded against either Dutch or English singly, he was invariably beaten: he failed in an attempt against the island of Tobago, and even the loss of an entire fleet in the Caribbean Sea, under the guidance of this Admiral, appears to have met with no condemnation; for, in despite of it, he was made Marshal of France, and subsequently received considerable rewards. We are justified, therefore, in concluding that he had considerable talents of one kind or another, either as a Commander or in the ability to make the worse appear

the better reason, that he had no enemies in the Court of the King, where they may generally be found, and that he must have had his merits, although his successes certainly did not deserve all that he received at the hands of the blind goddess. It is stated, which may be believed from his career, that as a man he was very presumptuous in his bearing, and rash in judgment, but above all most self-confident—and it was perhaps this last quality that lost him a fleet and yet silenced his detractors. In one word, he pretty nearly fulfilled the precept of the Psalmist, "If thou do well unto thyself, men will speak well of thee[1]." 1707.

MEMORANDUM.

The French at this period, and subsequently to the end of the last century, were distinguished for the symmetry and elegance, combined with science, of their ship-building; and indeed it was the excuse alleged for their questionable conduct at Solebay and elsewhere, that their squadrons too quickly outsailed the ships of the English and Dutch to come properly into action: it may, therefore, be useful to insert a short memoir of one who, if he had no claim to be deemed a warrior in the sense of commanding fleets, was a first-rate officer in the construction of them.

Bernard Renau, born in the province of Bearn in 1652, was a naval Lieutenant, who, having served on land as an engineer under Vauban, turned his mind to the "lines" on which the hulls of ships of war might best be designed. He first laid his plans before the Minister of Marine, De Seignelai, in 1679, and "il fut chargé de le mettre en pratique dans les Ports, où, par ses soins se formèrent bientôt un grand nombre d'habilles constructeurs." In 1689 he committed his thoughts to print, as "Théorie de la Manœuvre des Vaisseaux," which obtained the favour of Louis XIV. His character was thus sketched by De Tourville in a despatch quoted in "Les Archives de la Marine," relating the fight off Beachy Head: "Le petit Renau a eu la basque de son juste-au-corps emportée d'un coup de canon, qui lui a passé entre les jambes en ce temps qu'il dressoit un plan. Il a de l'esprit, de la capacité, beaucoup de valeur, et est doué d'un bon conseil[2]."

[1] Vie d'Estrées, par Richer; Eugène Sue; Histoire de la Marine Français; Biographie Universelle.

[2] Vie de Renau, par Richer; Biographie Universelle.

EDWARD RUSSELL, EARL OF ORFORD.

ENGLISH ADMIRAL.

Born 1651. Died 1727.

The house of Russell.

No English family has assisted the public service of the country in every department of usefulness to a greater extent than the noble house of Russell. For upwards of three centuries they fill a page in the history of England as Statesmen; and the name is more frequently repeated in the Roll of the Order of the Garter than that of any other family. In the profession of arms, however, I am not aware that there is another officer of this family of any note, excepting the subject of this memoir, and certainly no other who has so distinguished himself in naval annals. Edward Russell was the second son of Edward, fourth son of Francis, Earl of Bedford, and Penelope Hill, of Hillsborough. As this noble family obtained considerable grants of land upon the disso-

lution of monasteries, and was in high favour at Court, it may be that the cadets of this favoured stock picked up some of the crumbs which fell from the great man's table, for the stem from which our hero sprung was an offset with wealth sufficient to wear the title of Lord Russell before succeeding to the Earldom of Bedford; but where this younger branch resided, or what good they did in the world, is not recorded.

Our hero probably entered the Navy previous to the second Dutch war, at which time he was one of Sir Edward Spragge's Lieutenants; and, in 1672, was advanced to the command of the "Phœnix" frigate. After serving some time on the Mediterranean station he commanded a ship of the line at home; but towards the latter end of the reign of Charles II. he appears to have withdrawn from active service, and we find no mention of him (as a naval character) until after the Revolution, for he was too much immersed in politics.

1672. Russell commands the "Phœnix" frigate.

In 1687 he appears to have been advanced to his flag; and he and his brother Admiral, Herbert, went over to Holland, and were associated with Halifax, Devonshire, Danby, and Nottingham in a committee to act with the Prince of Orange, to concert matters and advise His Highness in such advertisements as might be fit for him to know in the great design then on foot. It appears from the list of the Parliament that Edward Russell was M.P. for the family seat of Tavistock, and that his kinsman, William, Lord Russell, whose eminence with the predominant party probably influenced his career, served in the same Session with others also of his family, so that he was in an influential position from concurring circumstances for advancing the Revolution in his own person, and particularly in his own profession. Russell had a good pretence to colour his going over, for he had a sister residing there, so that in 1688 he at once boldly threw off all disguise and acted with ample

1687. Russell M.P. for Tavistock.

1688. Russell goes to

1688. authority from the leaders. He had acquired so much the confidence and friendship of His Highness, that he spoke more openly to Russell than he had done to any one before. Admiral Russell accompanied William to England, and landed with him at Torbay.

Holland and enters into the designs of the Prince of Orange.

To our hero was committed, by King William, the general direction of naval affairs, and while his friend Herbert hoisted his flag in command of the Channel fleet, Russell hoisted his flag as Admiral on board the "Duke," 90. It happened very inconveniently that the King of Spain, who had married a sister of the Empress and Queen of Portugal, desired of His Majesty, in the first year of his accession, that he would grant her a convoy to conduct her from Holland to Corunna; and, accordingly, Admiral Russell was ordered to attend her, and carried away a squadron which was partly to consist of some ships belonging to a fleet that was going to the Mediterranean, under Admiral Killigrew, which was intended to watch the motions of the French at Toulon. The Admiral was so delayed by the duty thus imposed upon him that he did not return from the Groyne to England till the latter

Russell appointed to the direction of naval affairs.

1689. end of April, 1689, when his squadron put into Plymouth to refit, while he himself proceeded to Court. The Queen had sent for him, as one who well understood sea affairs, to advise her as to the orders to be given to Herbert about engaging the French; and he concurred with the Government that it was reasonable to send orders to the Admiral to venture on an engagement. When, however, Lord Torrington was committed to the Tower, Russell did not get, as he expected, Herbert's command; nor when the French Admiral landed at Teignmouth, in the following August, does he seem to have been sent for, although the squadron he had brought back from Spain was at that moment in Plymouth harbour.

1690. At length in December, 1690, Russell was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the fleet when it

returned into port for the winter. This great equipment had gone out in the summer of 1691 to seek the French, but had contradictory orders to be very cautious of an engagement; and though for the space of two months Russell did all he could to come up with them, yet, though sometimes in view of them, he failed at that time to bring them to an engagement. 1691. — Russell Commander-in-Chief of the fleet.

Great factions were at this time existing among the British Naval officers; and notice of this having been carried to King James, he most earnestly pressed on Louis XIV. the expediency of overtly testing the fidelity of the English marine. Orders were in consequence sent to Admiral de Tourville to bring on a battle under every disadvantage. This fact becoming known to the Queen Regent, she ordered Russell to be apprised of it, and at the same time to assure the fleet that she was quite satisfied of the falsity of the report. Accordingly, Russell and all the Admirals and Commanders in the fleet subscribed an humble address to assure Her Majesty that they would "venture their lives against all foreign and popish invaders whatsoever." Russell, therefore, having effected a junction with the Dutch fleet, sailed, on the 11th May, towards the coast of France to meet M. de Tourville, and fortunately came up with him on the 12th off Cape Barfleur, about seven leagues distant. The French Admiral, according to the orders he had received from the King, forthwith advanced in the "Soleil Royal" right upon Russell's flag-ship, and, having brought to, began the fight, at the distance of about three-quarter musket-shot, about noon. The battle was begun with much vigour on both sides, and even with some advantage on the side of the French; but the wind, which in the beginning of the night was in their favour, changed and became favourable to the English. Of this they took immediate advantage, and, having the superiority of ships in the ratio of nearly

1692. Address of the officers of the fleet to Her Majesty. Russell encounters De Tourville off Cape Barfleur.

Commencement of the battle of La Hogue, May 12.

1692. two to one, they wheeled completely round their enemy, and brought the French, by this means, to be exposed to the action of two fires at once.

The battle then continued with undiminished violence till four in the afternoon, when a thick fog enveloped all the combatants for a time, but, happening to lift a little, Russell perceived the French stealing off, and ordered a general chase; the fog, however, returned thicker upon them than before, and both fleets anchored. About eight in the evening the weather allowed them to weigh, and the chase was renewed all through the night, and even the two following days, which proved both dark and foggy; the hostile fleets were thus frequently in sight of each other.

Destruction of the "Soleil Royal."

On the third day, about noon, the French Admiral's ship, the "Soleil Royal," ran ashore, seeing which Sir Ralph Delaval sent a fire-ship upon her, which set her in flames. The wind having veered to the south-west, all the French ships crowded away westward to escape, with the British fleet close after them; and, the Dutch squadron having gained considerably ahead of them, the French were all driven to the necessity of running through the passage called "The Race of Alderney," between that island and Cape La Hogue. The "Conquérant," 80, and "L'Admirable," 102, which were the French Admiral's seconds, took the shore. Of the two fire-ships that were sent upon them one was destroyed by the enemy's fire; but the English Admiral ordered the "St. Alban's" and the "Reserve" and others to fire upon the stranded ships; and when these had thoroughly done their work Sir Ralph went himself in the boats, and, having taken out the crews of the stranded ships, set them on fire. Thirteen of the French fleet were now seen so near the shore of Cape La Hogue that the Admiral desired Sir George Rooke to run in with his squadron, who plied his fire-ships and boats so well, that the whole of them were destroyed. In all, there

Eighteen French ships of war destroyed.

were eighteen ships of war, rating from 102 to 56 guns each, that were destroyed as the fruits of the victory of La Hogue. On the side of the English not one ship was lost, and only two officers of high distinction, namely, Admiral Carter and Colonel Hastings were killed. Admiral Russell had evinced considerable ability and good judgment in carrying out his fleet from the river at the time he sailed, although contrary to the opinion of the pilots, for the winds which afterwards prevailed might have prevented his attack when he made it, which was an important step in this great affair; for it is now known that the French Admiral was expecting a reinforcement of ships from the Mediterranean, which only arrived a few days too late. 1692.

Admiral Russell, though the victor at La Hogue, is clamourously assailed on all sides and dismissed from the command.

Notwithstanding the eminent service he had performed by his victory of La Hogue, which is still regarded in the English history with much more consideration than it obtained in the seventeenth century, Admiral Russell was received by King William with great coolness on His Majesty's return to England, and even in the speech from the throne disappointment was expressed that the success of the fleet had not been more complete. It was believed that, had the victory been more vigorously followed up, the consternation which it had occasioned the enemy could have been worked upon with yet greater advantage. "The common reflection was that the providence of God and the valour of our men had given us a victory of which we knew not what use to make[1]." Nevertheless the House of Commons was induced to vote their thanks for the victory of La Hogue with unanimity. Russell, however, complained that the Earl of Nottingham had sent him letters in the Queen's name which were most offensive. The Minister, in his reply to him, censured him for his return to St. Helen's, and asserted that there was no necessity of bringing home the fleet, which had not

[1] Burnet.

1692. been much touched. The House of Commons upon this correspondence harassed the Admiral and the officers serving under him with examinations and inquiries that in the end raised a popular cry against him; the consequence of which was that, to allay the clamour, the Ministers dismissed Russell from the command of the fleet; and the Admiral very spiritedly resigned the Treasurership of the Navy, which he had held as the reward of his conduct at the Revolution.

But the absence of our hero from active service was not of long duration, for the ill success of naval operations during the year 1693 induced the King to call him again into employment, and, in order to remove all unfavourable impressions of his former dismission, he was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, as well as Commander-in-Chief of a grand fleet of 136 sail, which sailed for the Mediterranean in June, in order to repair the disaster that had befallen the Smyrna fleet in the spring. He was so long delayed in his voyage by contrary winds that the French might have finished the conquest of Catalonia, but, for fear of danger to their fleet, they had recalled it from Barcelona, and had got it safe into Toulon. The withdrawal by such a man as the Count de Tourville from the scene of action convinced all the powers of Europe of the supremacy of the British fleet. As it was thought that the French might attempt to come out again, Russell was kept all the winter at Cadiz, and, by lying there, the enemy was in effect shut up within Toulon, as they had no other port in the Mediterranean but that; and, accordingly, the entire French coast, and indeed the ocean at large, were left absolutely free to the British arms. Russell came before Marseilles and Toulon as often as he pleased without any loss. "He himself admitted that nothing more could be done then: only the honour of commanding the sea, and of shutting the French within their ports, gave a reputation to our affairs." Moreover, it gave the French a disgust to their war in Spain;

1693. Russell made First Lord of the Admiralty, and Commander-in-Chief.

Admiral Russell shuts the French fleet up in Toulon.

for, although they met with a feeble opposition from the Spaniards, yet the marines from the British fleet aided them to raise the siege of Palamos, and the French finding the charges of war expensive enough elsewhere, abandoned the field. 1693.

The alarm of an extensive conspiracy, under the protection of an invasion of England from France, when the Duke of Berwick commanded a military force under King James in person, induced a recall of the fleet from the Mediterranean in January, 1696. It has been said indeed that King William had become indifferent in maritime affairs, either from inexperience in them, or from deeming the fleet a hotbed of the Stuart faction, "who had too deep an alienation for him to be overcome even by good usage." The fleet was in truth much divided by party at this period, which may have been the reason that, when Admiral Russell struck his flag, he appeared no more in the character and station of a naval commander. For his eminent services, however, he was created in the following year Baron Russell of Shengay, in the county of Cambridge, and Viscount Barfleur, and Earl of Orford in Suffolk; and during the King's absences from England he was always appointed one of the Lords Justices of the kingdom. 1696. The Mediterranean fleet recalled. Russell created Earl of Orford.

The Earl of Orford had attained a position of such respect in the public mind, that he was considered as much as if he had been Lord High Admiral; for—as the King owned, he did not understand naval matters himself, and was glad to have his assistance both at the Admiralty and Naval Board. He brought many officers into the service who became zealous in their duty; but the Earl was thought to be too much connected with the political opinions of those in whom he confided, and he was not trusted; further, it was generally said that a spirit of impiety and dissoluteness at this time pervaded the service; and that there was much corruption in it: and it is certain there was much faction, if not treachery, in the naval

1696. administration of Russell. Towards the end of the King's reign there was an urgent appeal, made by the East India Company, to put down some pirates in the Red Sea; but, as Parliament had not appropriated the money necessary, the King proposed that it should be managed as a private undertaking, to which William himself, Lord Somers, Lord Orford, and some others should contribute the whole expenses. His Majesty, however, very shabbily backed out of the engagement, and did not advance the money he had promised—which therefore fell wholly on the other undertakers, who were thought to have remunerated themselves by the prizes taken from the pirates. Here was a handle of complaint, for it was proved to be against law; and it was urged in the House of Commons as a criminal act, and that those who were concerned in it, ought to be turned out of their employments. Accordingly, as the Tories were now in a majority, it was moved that Russell with his Whig friends should be all laid aside.

The affair of the Red Sea Pirates.

1701. As faction grew yet more powerful in April, 1701, the House of Commons brought up a general impeachment against the Earl of Portland and the late Ministry, and they tried what could be made of the pirate affair; but, though this was eventually dropped by a small majority, the failure of the first design soon prompted another. This was found in the matter of the Partition Treaty, and on the 13th April, in a House sitting till past midnight, but with a majority of no more than seven or eight Members, Lord Somers, Lord Orford, and Lord Halifax were impeached at the bar of the House of Lords of high crimes and misdemeanours, and the King was addressed on the 23rd "to remove them from his councils and presence for ever."

Lords Somers, Orford, and Halifax impeached, April 23.

The charges against the Earl of Orford were for abuses in managing the fleet, and victualling it, when it lay on the coast of Spain, and for some orders he had given during his command; to these he gave in

his answer in four days: he said his accounts, while he commanded the fleet, had been all examined and passed, but he was ready for all that to justify them in every particular. On the 21st June, the Lords sat as a High Court of Justice in Westminster Hall, after the articles of impeachment against Edward Earl of Orford had been read, and also his answer to them, his Lordship was by unanimous vote acquitted of each one of the articles, and the impeachment was dismissed. 1701. — Orford is acquitted, June 21.

Further, the examination into the Earl of Orford's accounts was continued until the year 1703, when it was at length brought to a close, and, out of an expenditure of seventeen millions of pounds, it was found that all the accusations were "false in part, or ill-grounded, or of no importance," and the conclusion was arrived at "that no fleet nor single ship had ever been victualled so cheap as the fleet was then by him." After the accession of Anne, and the appointment of Prince George of Denmark to the post of Lord High Admiral, Admiral Russell's name was again mixed up in both Houses in complaints against the Admiralty. It was said that the design of these complaints was a job to put the Earl of Orford again at the head of the fleet; and this eventually came to pass in 1709, when the Earl of Pembroke having resigned, the office of Lord High Admiral was offered to Orford, who with singular modesty declined that elevated and honourable appointment, stating that while he was willing to serve at the head of a commission, he declined to accept of it singly; and desired that the office should be put in commission; which was done, and he became the First Lord. 1703. Failure of the charge with respect to his accounts. 1709. Orford placed at the head of the Admiralty.

He continued to fill this post until, under the rising influence of Mrs. Masham, Queen Anne removed the Earl of Godolphin from the head of her councils, and Harley came in with the Tories, when the Earl of Orford, with some of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, withdrew from that board, and again retired from all employment until the death of Queen Anne,

1717. when he was appointed one of the Justices of the kingdom, until the arrival of King George I. who immediately on his arrival summoned him to his Privy Council, and recalled him to his former post of First Commissioner of the Admiralty, which office he continued to hold till the 16th April, 1717, when he retired altogether from all public employments. He married his cousin, Margaret Russell, by whom he had no issue, and died on the 20th November, 1727, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, when his title became extinct.

His death, Nov. 24, 1727.

His character.

The character left behind of this Admiral refers rather more to his political than to his professional career. Burnet speaks of him as "a man of much honour, and great courage; who had good principles, and was firm to them." That is only as much as to say that he was as good a Whig as the Bishop, and as consistent to his party as any one; but he was generally considered as a disagreeable man to act with. In his great exploit, the battle of La Hogue, we cannot do better than cite the French opinion:—"Telles sont les suites d'une action dont les commencements avaient été si beaux; jamais action ne fut plus brillante, plus hardie, plus glorieuse pour la marine françoise, si les évènements, qui se sont attribué parmi les hommes le droit de décider du mérite des choses, n'en avaient été si malheureux." If brilliancy, bravery, and boldness were on the side of the enemy at the beginning of the conflict, what should not be the just reputation of the hero who converted the result into their defeat and misfortune? All the indignities and dismissals to which Russell had been exposed were much more owing to political rancour and faction than to the demerit of Russell as an Admiral, who as such showed himself capable and meritorious; and in the matter of the disputed accounts of his officers, an able, ready, and indefatigable administrator, and he was "armed so strong in honesty" as to be ever ready to meet and to satisfy the unjust odium to which he was exposed[1].

[1] Rapin's History; Burnet's Own Times; Naval Biography; Campbell's Admirals, &c.; Mémoires de Berwick; Eugène Sue.

JEAN BART.

FRENCH COMMODORE.

Born 1651. Died 1703.

THERE is probably no character in history which has been so differently estimated in France and elsewhere as the brave and enterprising mariner who, as Jean Bart, or Du Bart, or John Barth, flourished in the reign of Louis XIV. He has been made the *beau idéal* of a corsair, and writers have invested him with all the ideal qualities of such a rough, brave, and dauntless seaman as an imagination like that of Lord Byron has pictured the character. The French would resent the omission of the name of Jean Bart from the records of their navy; yet he is scarcely entitled to be regarded as "a warrior who has commanded fleets before the enemy." Macaulay has very well put the peculiar circumstances which elevated "John Bart, humbly born and scarcely able to sign

his name, but eminently brave, and active to an undisputed pre-eminence. In the country of Anson and Hawke, of Howe and Rodney, of Duncan, St. Vincent, and Nelson, the name of this most daring and skilful sailor would have had little chance of being remembered. But France, among her many unquestioned titles to glory, has derived little from naval war, so that she ranks Bart among her great men." Another adventurer, of the name of Dugay-Trouin, has found a place in the same list on somewhat similar pretensions. Both were enterprizing and intrepid freebooters, the terror of the English and Dutch merchants, obtaining prizes which have been estimated at 100,000*l.* sterling. Both belong more properly to the class of our own Paul Jones than to the royal marine service.

1651. Birth of Jean Bart, Oct. 20. Jean Bart was born at Dunkirk, on the 20th October, 1651, of a family that had been corsairs for two generations at least. Corneille Bart, the father, is said to have lost his life in some affair with the English in June, 1658. At the death of his father, Jean Bart, being left an orphan of eight years of age, is said to have gone to Holland, where he "se mit mousse." A somewhat apocryphal story is related by Eugène Sue of Jean Bart. Still as *mousse*, or cabin-boy, at the age of seventeen, aboard the "Cochon Gras[1]," (in June, 1666,) sailing under the "brigantin Jerome Valbué," he was trusted by the Captain at the helm, and in the management of the sails, with a remarkable confidence in his boyish skill.

Serves as a cabin-boy.

1666.

We next hear that "il servit sous le fameux Ruiter." At the breaking out of the war between France and Holland, in 1671, the Dutch are said to have offered him, at the early age of twenty-one, some sort of command, but the patriotic Frenchman could not endure to

1671.

[1] The names of ships on the Flemish coast appear at this time to have run in a funny groove: "Le Cochon Gras," "Le Cochon Maigre," "Le Chien Sourd," "Le Chien Galeux," "Le Chasseur Borgne," &c. (Eugène Sue.)

bear arms against his king and country, and returned to his old home at Dunkirk, and to his family occupation of privateering. His native daring soon made him famous for a variety of acts no less singular than valiant; when, acting with the *armateurs* of the town, he constantly encountered the Dutch ships in the neighbourhood, and, by adopting his favourite system of grappling and boarding, and trusting in every case more to the cutlass than to fire and shot, he is said to have carried even some ships of war of considerable armament; and, amongst others not mentioned, one named the "Hope," of twelve guns, and a frigate of thirty-six guns, named "Schedam." Still there is so much improbability in the record of these actions as against the Dutch, who have not generally yielded their prowess to any nation in naval combat, that it may be permitted somewhat to doubt the accuracy of the French biographer when he lays claim for his hero to have made himself master of Dutch ships of war—"batiments d'une force triple du sien." 1671. — Alleged successes of Jean Bart over the Dutch.

We may pass over that in the accounts of all nations, but in the ordinary style of French naval history we never get more details of an action than "il aborda celle-ci, la prit—mit l'autre en fuite, détruisit une partie de la flotte, s'empara du reste." We readily admit, however, that Bart must have done wonders, when his brethren, *les armateurs*, caused five frigates to be constructed at their own cost, of which "La Palme," 18, was given to Jean Bart, who, with a little crew, forthwith set sail in quest of adventures on the 23rd March, 1676. 1676.

The French history of Jean Bart records very great havoc committed by him acting independently against the Dutch in the next two years; and it would appear that the enterprising character, and success in the vocation, of Jean Bart brought his name before Louis XIV., at the intervention of Marshal Vauban, and he was made a Lieutenant de Vaisseau in the Royal Navy in 1678. When the war against Spain broke out, 1678.

1683. in 1683, he was given the command of the frigate
— "Le Modéré" in the fleet that was despatched to the Mediterranean, where he gained increased reputation, and, in an engagement with two Spanish ships of war,
1688. received a wound in the thigh. In 1688 he commanded the frigate "La Serpente," 24, and cruised in company with the Count de Forbin[1], whose memoirs have perpetuated his exploits, which were now directed more particularly against the English. These two eminent Commanders, in consort frigates, had under their convoy twenty rich merchantmen homeward bound; when, near the Isle of Wight, they were sighted and chased by two English 50-gun ships. All that could be done under such disproportionate force was to save the convoy; and, in the execution of this duty, in which they succeeded, they were themselves boarded and carried prisoners into Plymouth.

Jean Bart a prisoner at Plymouth.

The writers of English naval history seem to have been so careless that nothing is known as to the names of the Captains who made this capture, and the story of their imprisonment and subsequent escape rests entirely on the published memoirs of the Count de Forbin. The story goes that, in a storm, a Flemish trader from Ostend was driven by stress of weather into Plymouth; and, learning that Jean Bart, who was a kinsman of his, was a prisoner in the town, he obtained permission to see him. The prisoners persuaded him, by an offer of 1200 livres, to assist them to escape, and obtained from him a file strong enough to remove the iron bars from their window. They also got information that a French surgeon, who had been taken on board some

[1] As I am unwilling to appear to disparage any of the French Admirals of this period, I may explain why I have not given Forbin a place among my "Warriors"—because he never "commanded a fleet before the enemy;"—although I admit him to have been a most distinguished officer, serving under D'Estrées and Du Quesne, and constantly with Jean Bart and Dugay-Trouin. He is also an author of considerable merit of naval memoirs.

ship, was somewhere in Plymouth, and, as De Forbin was wounded, they applied for his being sent for to cure him. By these means they concocted their escape; and, at the end of eleven days, they succeeded in a fog in getting on board an open boat; and, after a sail of two days and a half, landed on the shore of Bretagne, at Harqui, near St. Malo. De Forbin, having friends at Court, carried the history of this adventure to the ears of M. de Seignelai, the Minister, and the King; and the Count and Jean Bart received commissions of Capitaine de Vaisseau and gratuities of 400 crowns each. 1688. Jean Bart and his companions escape, and land safely in France.

In 1690 Jean Bart took the command of "L'Alcyon," 40, in the fleet about to sail under the Count de Tourville. The habits of the corsair rendered our hero a most valuable officer for the duty of obtaining information by independent expeditions, risking all sorts of hairbreadth escapes, so that when that celebrated French Admiral had driven the English fleet into the shelter of the Thames, and was supreme in the Channel, Jean Bart was in his element again, running amongst the sand-banks, of which he knew every yard, and picking up the Dutch and English fishing-boats and richer traders, until he made a considerable booty. Towards the end of the same year it was deemed desirable to secure the safe arrival in France of some military stores that had been ordered to be shipped on board two ships at Hamburg, and Jean Bart was employed on this duty. The "Alcyon" was ordered to convoy them out of the Elbe to Dunkirk, which service he effected with complete success. 1690. Jean Bart serves under De Tourville.

The following year he commanded "L'Entendu," 66, which formed one of the blue squadron of De Tourville's fleet; but nothing having been effected by the hostile fleets this year, Jean Bart found himself left to "kick his heels" in port, when, impatient of such idleness, his enterprising spirit led him to offer 1691.

1691 — M. de Pontchartrain, who had succeeded De Seignelai as Minister of Marine, to carry a squadron of small ships into the North Sea, in order to prey upon the Dutch and English commerce on their coasts. The project not being backed at the time by any influential support, was declared visionary, and refused. But M. de Forbin took it up at the Court, and gave it the support of his concurrence to the effect of offering to accompany his friend in the enterprise. The difficulty was to get the armament out of the harbour, which was closely watched by the English fleet; but, nevertheless, the experience of these two Commanders in such matters, and of such crews as they were enabled to assemble at Dunkirk, enabled the expedition to slip through the blockade by taking every advantage of the winds and the darkness, and it got safe into the open sea.

Jean Bart's and De Forbin's depredations on the coasts of Norway and Scotland.

With this corsair fleet the two friends ravaged the coasts of Scotland and Norway during the entire winter of 1691, the details of which are somewhat monotonous, even in the memoirs of M. de Forbin, and not all of them very probable, especially an incident at Bergen, where Jean Bart is recorded as taking an English Captain prisoner by *placing a little salt on his tail*[1]. The two friends returned to Dun-

[1] This is the anecdote as given by M. Richer ("Vie de Jean Bart," p. 51): "Pendant que Jean Bart étoit à Bergen, un Anglois qui commandoit deux vaisseaux y aborda, alla dans un lieu publique, où les étrangers avoient coutume de se rendre pour se rafraîchir. Il aperçut un homme dont l'air fier et déterminé et la taille haute et robuste le frappèrent. L'entendant parler facilement anglois, il eut la curiosité de savoir qui il étoit. Ceux auxquels il le demanda, lui répondoient que c'étoit Jean Bart. 'C'est lui que je cherche,' dit-il. 'C'est lui-même' lui répondit-on. Cet Anglois lia conversation avec lui. Après un entretien assez court, il lui dit qu'il le cherchoit, qu'il avoit envie d'en venir aux prises avec lui. 'Cela est très-facile,' lui répondit Jean Bart. L'Anglois répond qu'ils se battroient lorsqu'ils seroient en pleine mer; mais qu'étant dans un port neutre ils doivent se traiter avec amitié. Il l'invite à déjeuner sur son bord. 'Le déjeuner de deux ennemis comme vous et moi,'

kirk with prizes valued at 500 crowns, and with such increased reputation that the King desired to see this famous Jean Bart, and commanded him to repair to the Court. Upon the authority of "Mémoires du tems Manuscripts," M. Richer gives this account of our hero's visit to Louis XIV.: on his arrival at the Palace, as there was no one to receive him, he was shown into an apartment wherein to await His Majesty's pleasure; so he lighted his pipe and began to smoke. The guard, astonished at such impudence, informed him that he must not smoke tobacco in the King's apartments. "Oh!" replied our hero, "I have learned the habit in the service of the King, my master, until it has become quite a necessity with me; and it is therefore but justice that I should be permitted the practice when I come expressly to see the King." His Majesty was accordingly informed of this unruly visitor to the palace, who would not be prevented smoking in the presence-chamber; and he jokingly said, "I will engage it is Jean Bart; leave him alone, and, when he has smoked his pipe, show him up to me." He received his officer with great kindness, saying, "Jean Bart, il n'est permis qu'à vous de fumer chez moi." The courtiers were a little shocked, but were exceed-

1691. —

Jean Bart has an interview with Louis XIV.

répond le marin françois, 'doit être des coups de canon et des coups de sabres.' L'Anglois insiste; Jean Bart, sans défiance, accepte et se rend sur le vaisseau anglois. Après avoir pris un peu d'eau-de-vie et fumé une pipe, il veut partir. 'Vous êtes mon prisonnier,' dit le perfide Anglois; 'j'ai promis de vous ramener en Angleterre.' À ces mots Jean Bart se lève furieux. 'À moi!' s'écrie-t-il; en même tems allumant sa mèche, il renverse quelques Anglois, et s'élance sur un baril de poudre qu'on avoit tiré de la 'Sainte-barbe.' 'Non, je ne serai pas ton prisonnier,' dit-il; 'le vaisseau va sauter.' Tout l'équipage, saisi d'effroi, demeure interdit et immobile. Cependant les François ont entendu le cri de leur capitaine; ils entourent le vaisseau, montent à l'abordage, hachent les Anglois qui résistent, font les autres prisonniers et s'emparent du vaisseau. En vain le lache capitaine représente qu'il étoit dans un port neutre, Jean Bart l'enleva et le conduisit prisonnier à Dunkerque."

1691. ingly scandalized when, in reply to the King's question how he managed to get out of Dunkirk with his little squadron, he ranged all the courtiers in line, and, jostling one and shouldering another, he passed in and out of the whole of them, exclaiming, "Tribord! babord!—voilà comme j'ai fait." His Majesty was intensely amused, and rebuked his attendants, when they quizzed the stranger, by asking them "Y a-t-il un parmi vous qui soit capable de faire ce qu'il a fait?" and he ordered him to be given on the spot a present of 1000 crowns.

On his return home he learned the disaster that had befallen De Tourville at La Hogue, and beheld with fury his native port shut in by the British fleet. This condition of things so "riled" him that he obtained the Admiral's permission to try his luck again by getting a squadron of small ships out to sea, notwithstanding the blockade; and, on the 7th October, 1693, he carried through the enemy's line "Le Comte," 44, "L'Hercule," 36, "Le Tigre," 36, and a fire-ship. It happened that King William was returning from Holland about this time, and narrowly escaped falling into Jean Bart's hands, which he would have done but for the arrival of an escort of men-of-war, under Rear-Admiral Mitchell.

Narrow escape of King William from being captured by Jean Bart.

1694. His next command was in 1694, when, with six frigates, "Le Maure," 54, "Le Fortuné," 54, "Le Mignon," 44, "Le Jersey," 44, "Le Comte," 40, "L'Adscrit," 40, he was ordered to Vleckeren to look after a Dutch convoy of upwards of 100 sail of vessels, laden with corn, under Admiral Hides de Vries, of which he obtained possession at a moment of great national scarcity. The despatch relating this success was sent to M. de Pontchartrain, the Minister, by the hands of Bart's son, who was present with the Commodore in the fight. Louis XIV. received the young sailor in person, and was struck with astonishment at his extreme youth, when he inquired whether he had taken part in the battle—"Sire, j'y suis monté à l'abordage

Jean Bart captures 100 vessels laden with corn from the Dutch.

avec mon père." In retiring from the royal presence the lad slipped on the polished *parquet* and fell, but without injury; on which the King remarked, "On voit bien que les Messieurs Bart sont meilleurs marins qu'écuyers." The King was so pleased with Jean Bart's success that he ordered a medal to be struck to commemorate the event; and at the same time ordered Letters Patent of nobility to be issued, and the Cross Chevalier of St. Louis to be sent him. The Patent contained that he and his family should be "tenus et réputés pour nobles et gentilshommes," and that his coat-of-arms should receive, for augmentation, "on a field azure a fleur de lys or." 1694. —

One Meesters, a quack inventor of infernal machines, had at this time gained the ear of the English Admiralty, and a great number of expeditions had been sent into the ports of France to apply his invention to the destruction of ships of war in harbour. In August, 1695, a fleet of ships of war, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and machine-vessels, under the command of Lord Berkeley, was directed against the port of Dunkirk, and Jean Bart received the King's commands to defend his native waters against the English lord. The enemy's fleet anchored off Mardyk, a league distant from the town, on the 4th, and orders were forthwith issued to remove all the combustible material away from the arsenal and farms adjoining, and guns were placed in battery upon the strand, and several regiments of cavalry arrived, to oppose a descent; but nothing was attempted until the 11th, when, about nine in the morning, the bombardment began; later in the day, some "smoke-ships" were sent in, which burned to little or no purpose. The bomb-vessels, however, continued firing till five, when the whole fleet sailed away, having expended, with very little or no effect, as many as 1200 shells, besides carcasses. Jean Bart had employed all his energies in order to save his native town of Dunkirk, and was rewarded for his zeal and

1695. Jean Bart's successful defence of Dunkirk.

1695. — activity with a pension of 2000 crowns, and the commission of Lieutenant de Vaisseau for his son; Louis XIV. also struck a medal to record the event, which, however, was much more owing to the utter incapacity of Meesters than any very heroic exertions of the defenders of Dunkirk.

1696. In 1696 Jean Bart was again commissioned to carry forth, from Dunkirk into the North Sea, a squadron of seven ships of war and a fire-ship, and to prey on the commerce of the enemies of France, as in former years. The confederate fleet, with fourteen ships of war, put the place into a strait blockade as before. Nevertheless, on the night of the 17th-18th May, Jean Bart, together with M. Vergrei, Commissary-General of Marine, stood out to sea, and attained the Baltic unobserved. A characteristic anecdote is told of the Commissary, who found fault with the quantity of tallow expended in sounding with the line, which he thought the sailors used extravagantly for their own benefit. These sort of economies not being in Jean Bart's line, he said he could not imagine the men would steal the grease, "Que voulez-vous qu'on fasse de ce suif?" but he said he would send to inform him specially when they came into soundings. It happened to be in the middle of the night, when M. Vergrei was awoke several times with the report that they were heaving the lead; when at length he exclaimed, "Qu'on sonde tant qu'on voudra, et qu'on me laisse dormir." The biographer who gives the anecdote draws this most logical inference from it: "Qu'il ne faut pas croire que des hommes qui ont le courage d'exposer leur vie au milieu des hazards sont capables de bassesses." The depredations committed by this active Commodore in the North Sea and Baltic, with his light squadron, at length induced the British Admiralty to send out Admiral Benbow, one of their most intelligent and successful look-out officers, to follow up Jean Bart's movements, but the French Com-

Jean Bart eludes the blockading fleet at Dunkirk, and enters the Baltic.

Jean Bart's successes compel the English to send Admiral Benbow in pursuit of him.

modore evaded all pursuit, notwithstanding that he was constantly sighted and chased; and the dexterity that he evinced in eluding the vigilance of such a man as Benbow went far to increase his fame, and to increase the alarm of it among the English merchant-marine. "On assure que son nom seul étoit un épouvantail dans toute la Hollande; que si quelqu'un crioit, 'Voilà Jean Bart!' tous ceux qui l'entendoient regardoient promptement par où ils s'enfuiroient." The English, the Dutch, the Russian, were such sufferers from his "light squadron" that they united for the last five months of this season to form a squadron of fifty-two vessels, which were divided into three squadrons, with the sole object of watching Jean Bart's movements, so that when his supplies failed he was under the necessity of returning to Dunkirk, which he again and again succeeded in entering and quitting with as much hardihood as success, although he was often obliged to set fire to his prizes to prevent their recapture. 1696.

On the 27th April, 1697, Louis XIV. ordered Jean Bart again to repair to Court, and, on his entering his presence, said, "Jean Bart, je vais vous faire Chef d'Escadron." "Votre Majesté ne peut pas faire mieux," was the ready reply, at which the Court circle laughed immoderately. "You mistake, gentlemen," remarked the King, "the meaning of Jean Bart's answer. It is that of a man who knows his own value, and intends to give me fresh proofs of it." On another occasion Louis XIV. expressed himself to Jean Bart in the following complimentary strain: "Je voudrois avoir dix mille hommes comme vous." "Je le crois bien," was the response of this unsophisticated seaman to his august Sovereign. 1697. Anecdotes of Jean Bart and Louis XIV.

The death of John Sobieski, in June 1696, had brought forward many pretenders to the Crown of Poland, and, amongst others, the Prince de Conti, grandson of Louis XIV. and Madame de la Vallière, who had distinguished himself highly in the French armies, and

1697. had upheld the military reputation of the family of Condé. The King now committed the person of his candidate to the prudence and skill of Jean Bart, to carry him safely to the Baltic, and land him on the Polish shore. The Prince embarked on this mission at Dunkirk, on the 5th September, 1697, and Bart with great address passed an enemy's fleet of nineteen ships of war. His Royal Highness had had some experience of danger, nevertheless he was made somewhat nervous at the imminency of being made a prisoner. "It was very possible," replied Jean Bart. "What would you have done," said the Prince de Conti, "had they attacked us?" "Rather than surrender I would have blown up the vessel; my son is at this moment in the powder magazine with a lighted match in his hand, ready to obey my order." "The remedy is worse than the disease!" exclaimed His Highness; "be pleased to order him on deck immediately." The fleet arrived opposite Dantzig, on the 26th, where many notables of Poland received him, and he attended a great meeting of the electors at Oliva, on the 13th October, but he soon perceived the hopelessness of success, and returned on board Jean Bart's squadron, which carried him safely back again to Dunkirk on the 10th December.

Jean Bart escorts the Prince of Conti to Dantzig.

Characteristic anecdote of Jean Bart.

The Peace of Ryswick restored Jean Bart to a rest that was only too *ennuyant* for such a man; *pour s'amuser*, he made an excursion with his family to see his old schoolmaster, who was still alive; nevertheless, in 1703, when the War of the Succession broke out, he was called into activity, and was directed again to carry a light squadron to the Baltic; but, on the 27th April, before he could obey the injunctions that he had received, he was seized with an attack of pleurisy that carried him to the grave, in his fifty-second year. It is most honourable to Louis XIV., who, amidst his many faults, was a noble rewarder of merit to all who had served him, and a great King in his graceful mode of conferring a favour, that we can record that within

1703.

Death of Jean Bart, April 27.

Honourable conduct of Louis XIV. to his family.

a week of his death, on the 2nd May, His Majesty signed, with his own hand, a "brevet de deux mille livres de pension pour la Dame Bart et ses enfants." He left six children surviving him, the eldest of whom became an Admiral, and left many descendants. 1703.

Jean Bart was of a strong build and of good stature, with a regular and agreeable physiognomy. Like his Flemish countrymen, of a soft complexion, blue eyes and fair hair. He was temperate in his habits, and modest in his speech, of which however he was sparing, and never presumed on good fortune. He would say, "I owe more to those who followed and assisted me than to myself." He was rarely moved to anger, except when deeply offended. He had activity, energy, and vigilance for all his work, courage and valour beyond others in his profession, yet always under the control of prudence and common sense. He would seek danger when circumstances demanded it, and avoid it when it would in no degree tend to any advantage. He had been entirely the architect of his own fortune. Born in a fisherman's cabin, he was utterly ignorant of the usages of the world, and often gave vent to remarks which were not quite in place, yet he had nevertheless a steady mind and strong good sense. Without being an Admiral in the popular sense of the word and character, he was a wonderful seaman, and attained a knowledge of his art, both in ship-craft and in pilot-craft, that rendered him an ubiquitary that could never be caught or held; yet Jean Bart was in fact nothing more than this, he was nobody excepting when on board his ship; and his constant companion, De Forbin, says of him, in his "Mémoires:" "Il étoit un stupide, incapable de former aucun projet; mais en même temps il étoit actif, vigilant, toujours prêt à agir avec un valeur et un courage guidé par un sage prudence [1]." His personal appearance and character.

[1] Vie de Jean Bart, par Richer; Eugène Sue; Biographical Dictionaries; Macaulay; Mémoires de Forbin.

MARSHAL DE CHÂTEAU-REGNAUD.

FRENCH ADMIRAL.

Born 1637. Died 1716.

1637. Birth of Château-Regnaud.

FRANCIS LOUIS DE ROUSSELET, Count de Château-Regnaud, or Château-Regnault, was a native of Touraine, where he was born in 1637. The family of Rousselet was of obscure origin until the marriage of the great-grandfather of our hero with the sister of the Cardinal de Retz. Like most of the young French nobles of his days he sought the occupation of arms, and made a campaign or two under Marshal de Turenne, when he was present in 1658 at the siege of Dunkirk; subsequently he took service as

1661. a naval officer in 1661, and obtained the commission of Lieutenant de Vaisseau. He distinguished himself in an attack of the Sallee Rovers on the coast of Barbary, where, probably, he became comrade with De Tourville, but they were already intimate friends, for

they had met together at the Court of St. Germain's, in 1667, where both witnessed the King's creation of a Maréchal de France in the apartments of the palace, and made the singular wager which was so remarkably won by both the *parieurs* in the course of their naval career. "En 1673 il fut promis un grade de Chef d'Escadre, et livra un combat contre cinq corsaires hollandois avec un vaisseau et soixante-quatre canons, et en 1674 il attaqua dans la Manche le fils de Ruiter, Contre-amiral de Hollande, qui convoyoit une flotte de 105 navires de commerce; après un combat de trois heures, dans lequel cinq vaisseaux hollandois furent coulés à fond, le jeune Ruiter fut obligé d'échouer plusieurs de ses navires sur les bancs de Flandre." Gérard Brandt makes no allusion to this affair, and it is so loosely given, without further details by Richer, as to render it impossible to give a very intelligible account of it.

1667. Singular wager of Château-Regnaud and De Tourville.

1674. Successful action with the Dutch.

In these early days of French naval prowess, France was too weak to enter single-handed into great conflicts, so that she was under the necessity of soliciting the co-operation and aid of the fleets of any small maritime nation. It had been the wars with the Dutch and English, 1664—1676, that first afforded the French people the opportunity of learning, at the expense of these two great naval antagonists, how to make a figure on that element with which they had been before so little acquainted; and it was Colbert who, for the most part, nursed the maritime service, by rendering it a participation in glories of which they did not share the danger, so that by sometimes siding with the Dutch, and sometimes with the English, the French fleet became eventually able to deal with either nation. Officers, such as De Tourville, Gabaret, and Château-Regnaud, were at this period rapidly advanced to high commands. It was in 1681 that De Tourville received his flag, and he could not have been much the senior to Château-Regnaud, although

Insignificance of the French Navy till 1664–1676.

1681.

1687. we find our hero in 1687 commanding a ship of war under his friend, yet in the year 1689 Château-Regnaud was undoubtedly in the temporary command of a fleet of sixty-two men-of-war, with which he joined De Tourville at Brest.

Château-Regnaud joins De Tourville with a fleet at Brest, 1689.

While in port, the King sent orders that a squadron, consisting of twenty-four ships of the line, with two frigates and fire-ships, should be despatched to the coast of Ireland, under Château-Regnaud, and, accordingly, on the 9th May, he appeared between Cape Clear and Kinsale. The English Admiral Herbert, in command of twenty-four sail, sighted them on the 10th, and at once endeavoured all he could to get up to them before they could reach Bantry Bay. The enemy saved him the labour, for on the 11th the French fleet stood out to sea in a well-formed line of battle, M. Gabaret being in the van with eight ships. The Admiral's flag appeared in the centre with eight more, the rear-squadron, with the same number, had for its Commander M. Foran. The French van cut in upon the leading English vessel as it attempted to get round their flank into the Bay, and both fleets were soon generally engaged. The fight was pretty warm for about two hours, when it slackened, because the wind obliged all the ships to tack, under which operation the fire slackened, when both sides renewed the fight for about four hours. The endeavour of the antagonist Admirals was to obtain the wind, and Château-Regnaud, in his report, very modestly mentions that he had obtained it: "Il est à remarquer, Monseigneur, qu'il est fort extraordinaire que les Anglois aillent si bien au prix de nous, et que nous les ayons mené de la manière que nous avons fait. Il ne l'est pas moins que ce soit Herbert à qui cette aventure soit arrivé; lui qui passe pour le plus capable et le plus brave de leurs généraux, aussi il est certain qu'après que la crainte de l'incertitude du combat fut passée, ils en ressentirent une telle confusion que, quoique nous

Action with Admiral Herbert in Bantry Bay.

fussions très-bien ensemble, ils fussent ravis d'être sorti du péril où ils croyoient être. Je fus quatre heures le maître de la tête des Anglois." Admiral Herbert, however, kept out to sea, because he found no other way by which he could gain the wind; and accordingly the French fleet stood into the Bay, which put an end to the fight. The English had, without a doubt, the worst of the battle of Bantry Bay, although it was an action inconsiderable in itself. The French had one ship set on fire, and two others were obliged to be sent out of the line. The English lost no ship, but one Captain and one Lieutenant, with 94 men, were killed, and about 300 wounded. Herbert bore away for the Scilly Islands, and Château-Regnaud retired into Brest. 1689. —

In 1690 we find Château-Regnaud, with his flag in the "Dauphin Royal," commanding the advanced squadron of the fleet under De Tourville, consisting of six very large ships of war, which had been constructed at Rochefort, and brought from thence by the Count. This fleet quitted Brest on the 23rd June, and, entering the Channel, cruised along the English coasts. De Tourville had seventy-eight ships of war; and, on the 10th July, Admiral Herbert, now made Earl of Torrington, with the confederate English and Dutch fleet, consisting of fifty-six ships of war, offered battle. The French fleet was formed in a curve or half-moon, of which Château-Regnaud commanded at one of the terminations. Herbert and the Dutch Admiral Hervestem opened fire against the enemy at nine in the morning, and for about two hours the cannonade was terrible on both sides; but it does not appear that Château-Regnaud's squadron had any other duty in this conflict, called by the French the Battle of Bévézières, and by the allies of Beachy Head. After the victory gained here by De Tourville, the Minister directed him to send Château-Regnaud to burn the arsenal of Plymouth; but the Admiral did not deem it practicable, and, 1690.

Château-Regnaud commands a squadron in the battle off Beachy Head.

1691. accordingly, that enterprise was laid aside, and the fleet returned to port [1].

In 1691 the antagonistic fleets of England and France avoided offensive operations; but after the affair of Kirconnel, on the 9th July, when the hopes of James II. were utterly at an end in Ireland, Admiral de Château-Regnaud was detached from Brest, with thirty ships, to render assistance for the preservation of the troops and supplies that might be brought away, or for the general protection of the garrisons left behind; at length after two months' fruitless cruise, he received orders to take his squadron into the Bay of Biscay to look after the Spanish galleons that might be expected home towards the end of the year. However, M. de Château-Regnaud had not the good fortune to meet with any prizes, and got a rap on the knuckles from Count de Portchartrain for his want of success.

1696. Château-Regnaud conducts the fleet from Toulon to Brest.

In 1696 we hear of M. de Château-Regnaud being commissioned to conduct the fleet from Toulon to Brest, and, although an English fleet of thirty-five ships of war was in the Mediterranean, he accomplished the mission with safety, and without the necessity of firing a shot. He was afterwards sent with twelve ships of the line to cruise off Cadiz, in order to intercept the expected arrival of the galleons from Mexico, but he again failed.

[1] It has been remarked that it is only by comparing the negative victory off Beachy Head with the brilliant result of Russell's victory at La Hogue, that Herbert's conduct can be fully understood. Both battles were fought under somewhat similar circumstances, that is, under orders from their Sovereigns contrary to what the two Admirals themselves desired. Here the English fleet is the weakest, and Herbert would have kept out to sea and avoided a decisive battle. At La Hogue the relative strength of the contending fleets is reversed, and the French Admiral keeps in show, invites a contest, and, leaving himself no means of escape, is totally destroyed by the superior enemy. It has been thought that Herbert's fleet would have suffered a similar catastrophe to De Tourville's, had the British Admiral risked a close action.

In 1700, Louis XIV. sent detachments of his navy in every direction in the hope of coming across the Archduke Charles, who had declared himself King of Spain in opposition to the Duke d'Anjou, and our hero was given the command of a squadron of nine ships of war to lie ready for any thing that might happen at La Rochelle. Towards the end of 1701 M. de Château-Regnaud had the command given him of a conjoint expedition for the defence of the Spanish settlements. His fleet consisted of a squadron of eighteen French ships of the line, under M. de Coetlegon, and the Spanish ships of war, under Don Pedro Navaredo, with a number of engineer and artillery officers, ammunition, and ample means of bombardment, for the purpose of being employed by the governors of the Spanish settlements in the New World in support of Louis XIV.'s policy in respect to the throne of Spain. He succeeded fully in the main object of his mission, and collected the scattered fleet of Spain from the different Spanish colonies, which he carried safely to the port of Vigo; but Sir George Rooke hearing of the arrival of the united fleet, came suddenly upon the port, the defences of which had been neglected, and the French Admiral, unable to protect the whole of his charge, was obliged to burn fifteen ships of the line, having only just time to save the crews.

1700. —

1701. Château-Regnaud succeeds in his expedition to the Spanish settlements; but is compelled to burn a portion of his fleet at Vigo.

In the year 1703 the King created the Lieutenant-General Château-Regnaud Maréchal de France, together with two other Admirals, D'Estrées and Tessé; but I cannot find that, after he received the *bâton*, he ever raised his flag. His son, the Chevalier de Château-Regnaud, was subsequently a distinguished officer, and the small service that is subsequently spoken of under this name was probably that of the son. The father, our hero, died in 1716. I cannot find the materials to form any character of him[1].

1703. Made a Marshal of France.

1716. His death.

[1] Histoire de France, de Trognon; Vie de Tourville, par Richer; Eugène Sue.

JOHN BENBOW.

ENGLISH ADMIRAL.

Born 1651. Died 1702.

1651. Birth of Benbow.

THIS renowned seaman was born at Cotton Hill in the parish of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, some time in 1651; but as the principal distinction of his family name was that his progenitors had served his country in the profession of arms in no very exalted rank, all record of their condition has perished. He was the son of Colonel Benbow, who was a sturdy Royalist during the Civil Wars, and stood by the King's side at Worcester Fight, where he was taken prisoner and narrowly escaped being put to death. During the Usurpation his family probably lived at Shrewsbury; and at the Restoration he was appointed to some small office in the Tower of London, where, a little before the breaking out of one of his Dutch wars, King Charles II. happened to pay a visit of inspection as to the state of the

magazines. There His Majesty saw the good old Colonel, whose hair was blanched with age, and, with that wonderful memory which attaches with such singular uniformity to Royalty, His Majesty recognized him, received him with great cordiality, and condescendingly inquired after his fortunes. The Colonel told the King that he enjoyed a place in the Tower of some fourscore pounds, in which he endeavoured to serve His Majesty as cheerfully as if it were four thousand. The King answered that it was too small a recompense for one who had stood by him on the field of Worcester; and, turning to his attendants, commanded that he should come to the palace the following day, when he would inquire how he might provide more liberally for him and his family; but that to-morrow the veteran was destined never to see. His sense of the King's condescension and goodness overcame his long pent-up feelings of loyalty and devotion, and, sitting down on a bench, he quietly breathed his last, even before His Majesty was well out of the Tower. It does not appear that the family derived any benefit from the good-intentioned monarch's intentions. 1651. Charles II. and Benbow's father.

There is no record of what the Colonel's family consisted of, or what became of them. The subject of our memoir was bred to the sea in the merchant-service, and became, before the end of Charles II.'s reign, owner and commander of the "Benbow," one of the most considerable of the vessels in the Mediterranean trade. He appears to have obtained the reputation of a brave, active, and skilful seaman, and he would have probably acquired a good estate in the mercantile marine, if an accident had not brought him to a commission in the Royal Navy which led to his future distinction. Benbow a Captain and owner of a ship in the Mediterranean trade.

In the year 1686 Captain Benbow, trading in the vessel bearing his name, of which he was Master and part owner, was attacked in his passage to Cadiz by a Sallee Rover, against which he defended himself with 1686. Benbow defeats a Sallee Rover.

1686. — the utmost bravery, until the Moors succeeded in boarding his ship. This roused him to a desperate struggle, which ended in his expelling the barbarians from his deck, leaving thirteen men behind them, whose heads the Captain desired to be cut off and thrown into a tub of pork pickle. Arriving at Cadiz, he went on shore and ordered a negro servant to follow him with the Moors' heads in a sack. In answer to the inquiries of the revenue officers, "What have you got there?" the Captain answered, "Salt provisions for my own use;" but he refused to allow the sack to be opened.

Characteristic anecdote of Benbow.

The officers insisting that he must then go before the magistrate, the Captain consented to go before him, and was received with every civility, but, as he refused to open the sack to the demand of the proper officer, the nature of their commission obliged them to demand a sight of the contents of his sack. "Very well," said the Captain; "I told you they were salt provisions for my own use. Cæsar, throw them down upon the table; and, gentlemen, if you like them, they are very much at your service." Of course the whole court was astonished at the sight, and, demanding the circumstances under which he obtained them, Benbow succinctly and modestly related the adventure; and this account of the Captain's enterprise obtained a pretty general circulation in the city, so that it came to be carried to the ears of Charles II., then King of Spain, who commanded that Captain Benbow should repair to his Court, that he might become acquainted with so gallant an officer. He was received by the Spanish sovereign in the midst of his Court with the greatest respect, and was afterwards dismissed with a handsome present, and His Most Catholic Majesty wrote a letter to his royal brother of England to congratulate him on having such a subject: hence it was that James II., on the receipt of the recommendation, made Benbow's acquaintance, and gave him the command of a ship in the Navy.

Benbow receives a commission from James II.

After the Revolution, Benbow was placed in charge of the "York," in 1689; and the merchants of the City, who well knew the man and his worth, requested that he might be appointed to the command in the British Channel to protect our trade. In this service he not only succeeded effectually, but by his daring and skill acquired a perfect knowledge of the French ports, evinced, on many occasions, the most intrepid courage in these expeditions by accompanying the engineers in the ship's boats during the bombardments, by sharing in all their hardships, and by usefully assisting in these operations: so he became generally recognized as a practical and trustworthy seaman, and in consequence Lord Torrington constituted him Master of the Fleet, in which character he acted in the battle off Beachy Head.

1689. — Benbow serves in the Channel. Master of the Fleet at Beachy Head.

The vigour and activity he displayed ultimately recommended Benbow to King William for a flag, and, in November, 1693, we find him in command of a squadron of twelve men-of-war, four bomb-vessels, and ten brigantines, off St. Malo. He at once ran in and anchored before Quince Fort, and, after placing his ships in positions best suited to the plan of Captain Philips, the engineer, he opened a concentrated fire upon the fort. The enemy, however, received him with such a return fire that, after five hours' firing, he was constrained to warp the ships to prevent grounding. The harbour of St. Malo, although large, is known to be difficult of access on account of the rocks that surround it, and from the great strength of its defences.

1693. Benbow attacks St. Malo.

The squadron returned to the attack a day or two later, and succeeded in throwing seventy bombs in one day into the town, when a landing was effected, which merely resulted in setting fire to a convent which had been occupied with troops. At length, on the fifth night, which was exceedingly dark, with a fresh gale of wind and a strong tide, Benbow brought in a novel

1693. kind of fire-ship, of about 300 tons' burden, which was intended to have reduced the town to ashes, but she struck upon a rock, and the engineer who was on board being unable to manage her, set fire to her, and quitted her, when she exploded, with an effect that shook the place like an earthquake, broke all the glass for leagues around, and struck off the roofs of 300 houses. A capstan that weighed 200 pounds was transported by the explosion over the walls, and fell upon a house, which it brought to the ground. The consternation and the destruction occasioned would have probably led to the capture of the town if there had been a sufficient number of land forces, but all that really happened was that the fort only was assaulted and destroyed, eighty prisoners captured, and for a time St. Malo, which had been a nest of privateers infesting the English commerce, was crippled if not destroyed.

1695. Benbow commands the "Charles" in the bombardment of Calais.

In the year 1695 Benbow formed one of a more considerable expedition which, under the command of Lord Berkeley and the Dutch Admiral Allemonde, sailed on the 4th July. The entire fleet, consisting of seventy sail, came before the place and cannonaded it with all their guns, while Colonel Richards, the engineer, with Benbow on board the "Charles" galley, led the way to place the bomb-vessels within a mile and a half of the town. By this plan the town was set on fire in several places, the bombardment being continued for eleven hours with all the success that could possibly be expected from such an operation (which, it may be said *en passant*, is one of the most cruel expedients of war, for it does very considerable private injury, and rarely does much effective service). All that can be said for these bombarding and touch-and-go visits to an enemy's shores is this, that it is always better to alarm and burn the French coast than to suffer them to alarm and burn the English ports, which they would probably attempt if

1695-6. they were not frightened for their own. In 1695-6 the

policy appears to have been still pursued of insulting the coast of France; Granville, Havre-de-Grace, Dunkirk, Calais, were all in turn threatened or bombarded, and the entire French shore was kept in a perpetual alarm. In the month of May, Rear-Admiral Benbow sailed with a small squadron in order to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk; but that famous adventurer availed himself of a fog to escape him, and, although Benbow followed him as well as he could, he contrived to evade him more than once, although he was sometimes within sight of him. Our hero received a wound in the leg off Calais; but shortly afterwards, the Peace of Ryswick put an end to the war, and brought some repose to Benbow.

1696.

Benbow fails to prevent the escape of Du Bart from Dunkirk.

Benbow wounded.

The many disappointments that befel the English in the course of the war occasioned very loud complaints against almost every one who was engaged in maritime affairs; but it is remarkable that, in the many bitter pamphlets of the time, not one word was said to the prejudice of Admiral Benbow. On the contrary, he received many high commendations from his old friends the merchants, who omitted no opportunity of publicly thanking him for the protection of commerce; and he was always a favourite of the seamen, who evinced towards him the greatest proof of their affection. He seems never to have had any political attachments, so that he escaped much of the rancour that was afloat; and King William was delighted to find a single subject of his in such a category, and was glad to call him into his counsel upon a question then much mooted—whether mere seamen—or, as they were then termed *tarpaulins*—or officers of a superior education were best suited to the command of fleets and ships. He sensibly gave it as his opinion that it was safest to know no distinctions of that kind, but he thought a naval Commander should always be judged by his actions at sea, and that the great danger lay in preferring gentlemen

Benbow excepted from the almost general dissatisfaction of the public with the Commanders and management of the Navy.

1696. without merit, on some score of political favour, to the better description of tars who would best undertake matters beyond the capacities of mere landsmen.

After the peace, King William desired information of the state of the West Indies in case his pacific views should be disappointed and a new war should arise. He feared the colonies were in a very weak and defenceless condition; and it happened that the Scotch had lately established a settlement at Darien, which had given great offence to the Spaniards. Accordingly, the King fixed on Rear-Admiral Benbow[1] to command a squadron of seven sail of fourth-rates, and His Majesty gave him his own private instructions, especially directing to keep as fair as possible with the governors of the Spanish ports and settlements, and to make his observations with regard to them.

1698. Benbow is sent to the West Indies.

Benbow raised his flag in November, 1698, and arrived in the West Indies in the February following. He found most of the British colonies in a bad condition, and, for the greater part, at variance with their governors; and the garrisons so much reduced, by sickness and other accidents, as to be very unequal to the defence of the islands. He had, however, brought a regiment out with him, which he disposed of to the best advantage in the Leeward Islands. He next proceeded to perform the other part of his commission—the looking into Spanish affairs, for which a very proper occasion presented itself. The authorities at Cartagena had seized two British ships with an intention to employ them against the Scotch settlers at Darien, and he therefore resolved to restore those ships to their owners. He stood across to

[1] An amusing anecdote is told of the Dutch King on this occasion, who was not much given to a joke either in English or any other language. It was discussed whether another Admiral should not have the command, who was said to be too much of a fine gentleman: "Oh!" said the King, "if we are to have a *beau*, I insist upon my old friend Ben-*bow*."

the Dragon's Mouth, and apprised the Governor-General at Trinidad that he came there for the two English ships lying in the harbour, which, if not sent out to him, he said he would come and take by force. After some demur the ships were sent out to him, with which the Admiral returned to Jamaica. He afterwards proceeded to Porto Bello on a similar enterprise, and, by his firmness, he obtained there also the satisfaction he required; and, in June, 1700, he returned to England with six men-of-war, taking New England in his way. 1698. — 1700.

His spirited conduct at Trinidad and at Porto Bello.

He was received very graciously by the King, and earned many compliments for his courage, capacity, and integrity by all parties in the State. In acknowledgment of which he received the grant of an augmentation to his coat-of-arms; for, as it consisted at first of only *bows*, he was now permitted to bear as many fledged *arrows*, in token that they were *bent-bows*. The ambition of Louis XIV., on the occasion of the Spanish Succession, having again lighted up an European war, the British Government thought it desirable to send a strong squadron to the West Indies, and recommended Admiral Benbow to the King; but His Majesty considered that, as the Admiral had just returned from that climate of bad report, some other officer should take the turn. However, he sent for "honest Benbow," as His Majesty called him, and told him he had been named for the command, but that if, having only just returned home, he desired to be excused, he would not take it amiss. The Admiral answered bluntly that a sailor should not consider he had any right to choose his duty or his station, and that if His Majesty desired to send him to the East or West Indies, or any where else, he would cheerfully execute his orders, as became his obedience to the service.

Benbow's interview with King William.

The object of this expedition was to induce the Spanish governors in the New World to refuse the

Benbow is again

1700. — sent to the West Indies.

succession of Philip, the French King's grandson, to the Spanish monarchy; and, if he could not effect this, he was to endeavour to make himself master of their galleons and silver fleets. The French, however, who knew the importance of the measure, lost no time in upholding the Bourbon cause, and despatched three squadrons in succession, each of them superior to the fleet of Benbow, and with considerable bodies of troops on board the ships. The British fleet, consisting of ten ships of the line, reached Barbadoes on the 3rd November, 1701. Here he received the intelligence of the two French squadrons which had arrived in the Caribbean Sea. He accordingly removed to Jamaica, from whence he distributed his cruisers so judiciously as that very little damage was done to the British commerce on the West Indian station.

1702. Benbow encounters M. du Casse off Cape St. Martha.

In July the Admiral found that a squadron of ten sail, under the command of M. du Casse, was cruising off Jamaica; and, accordingly, Benbow put to sea with eight ships and pursued the French Admiral until the 21st, when he got sight of the enemy off Cape St. Martha. The next morning at break of day he was near the French ships, but none of his squadron, excepting the "Ruby," was within many miles of his stern; notwithstanding which the French did not fire a gun at him; but, in the afternoon, they drew into a line and made what sail they could without fighting. However, the Vice-Admiral and the "Ruby" kept them company all night, plying them with their chase-guns. Thus the Vice-Admiral continued pursuing, but was never duly seconded by several of the ships of the fleet. On the 23rd, about noon, the French Admiral engaged the "Ruby," which became so disabled that she was obliged to put back into Port Royal. The fleets were again brought together; but the English Captains would not fire again, though within blank shot. At length, on the 24th, Benbow, tired of temporizing any longer, came up with the enemy's

sternmost ship and fired his broadside, which was returned very briskly; when, about three in the afternoon, the Admiral's right leg was shattered by a chain-shot. He was immediately carried below to have his wound dressed by the surgeon, when one of his officers expressed to him his great sorrow for the loss of his leg, upon which Benbow replied, "I am sorry for it too; but I had rather have lost both than have seen this dishonour brought upon the English nation. But—do ye hear?—if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men and fight it out." He then caused himself to be carried on deck in his cradle, that he might witness the continuance of the action, when one of the enemy's ships, carrying seventy guns, appeared in a very disabled condition: but only one ship of his fleet, the "Falmouth," took any steps to engage her: three of his ships passed her, firing their broadsides, and stood away to the southward. The disabled ship put her helm a-weather and ran right before the wind, until the French Admiral took her in tow. The Vice-Admiral signalled for all his Captains to come on board the flag-ship, when they all agreed "that the French were too strong; and, from what had passed, he might guess he could make nothing of it." Benbow was indignant, but the several Captains all signed a paper to the same effect, and he, seeing himself absolutely without support, saw no other course open to him but to bear away for Jamaica.

1702. Benbow is wounded.

Dastardly behaviour of his Captains.

On his arrival at Port Royal, he ordered all the officers who had so scandalously misbehaved to be landed and confined to their quarters, while he directed a commission to Rear-Admiral Whetstone to try the four Captains by court-martial for cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty: these charges were proved upon the fullest and clearest evidence that could be desired. All four were found guilty, and sentenced to be shot, which sentence was carried out

Four of Benbow's Captains are sentenced to be shot.

1702. against three of them; but the fourth died a few days previous to his comrades' execution.

The operation of amputation was so much affected by the anxieties and mental suffering attending the trial of his Captains, that a serious fever set in, which was also aggravated by the heat of the climate; and the condition of his mind may be tested by the letter he at this time addressed to his wife at home, wherein he expressed much more concern for the state of affairs as they affected the public than for himself. From the time of the loss of his leg he entertained no hopes of recovery, but showed an earnest desire to be as useful as he could as long as he lived, by taking the accustomed measures for the proper distribution of his ships, and for their proper condition and victualling.

Death of Benbow. His spirits did not fail him until very near his end, which happened November 4, 1702.

His remains were sent to England, and deposited without pomp or ceremony in the burying-ground of St. Nicholas, Deptford. Neither Queen Anne nor the Parliament gave his memory a thought, and it was

Monument at Shrewsbury to his memory. only of late years that a monument has been erected to his memory in St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury, bearing this inscription: "Erected by public subscription to commemorate the services of John Benbow, Esq., Vice-Admiral of the Blue; a skilful and daring seaman, whose heroic exploits long rendered him the boast of the British Navy, and still point him out as the Nelson of the time. He was born at Cotton Hill in this parish, and died at Kingston, Jamaica, November 4, 1702, aged fifty-one years, of wounds received in his memorable action with a French squadron off Carthagena in the West Indies, on the 19th and five following days of August in that year."

His character. While his bitterest enemies could not deny him the reputation of a brave, active, and able Commander, his best friends and admirers could not gainsay that he wanted those conciliatory means which are usually

found requisite to secure personal attachment and regard: honesty, integrity, and a blunt sincerity were the most prominent features of the man, and rendered him estimable to his Sovereign, and to his own circle. But, while we lament the blot in our nature, we cannot deny that these truly valuable qualities are insufficient to acquire love in the profession of arms, even with unblemished valour. He was what is called a "taut hand," strict and severe in his discipline, as was evidenced in the closing incidents of his life. The act of accuser, judge, and executioner of four Captains [1] of his fleet is a startling comment on his own gloss of his character, that he was hated as an officer and Commander [2]. 1702.

[1] The following letter to Benbow is said to have been addressed to him by the French Admiral, his opponent:—

"Sir,—I had little hopes on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin, but it pleased God to order it otherwise—*I* am thankful for it. As for those cowardly Captains who deserted you, hang them up; for, by G—, they deserve it.

"Yours,

"Du Casse."

[2] Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary; Campbell's Lives of the Admirals; British Naval Biography; Smollett's History of England.

SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL.

BRITISH ADMIRAL.

Born 1650. Died 170⁄.

THE many opportunities which the Naval service affords for the display of personal bravery, skill, and the exercise of a cool and sound judgment, together with the great mental energies that it peculiarly calls into operation, have probably been the reason why, in every land, a succession of eminent men have arisen in it to the highest honours of the service from a very mean origin. This observation will be found to be fully illustrated in the life of the distinguished Commander whose service we have now to relate.

1650. Birth of Cloudesley Shovel.

Cloudesley Shovel was the child of humble parents in the obscure village of Cley, in the remote northern district of Norfolk, and was born about the year 1650. His parents had a cousin of the name of Cloudesley, who was a man of comparative substance, and, with the

hope of giving their child a chance of some advantage from his favour, they called their son Cloudesley; but their rich relation nevertheless took no notice of his little namesake, and died without leaving him a shilling. Nothing is known of his schooling, but, as a livelihood, the boy was brought up to the trade of a shoemaker; the last and awl, however, did not prove to his taste; and, as there was a little harbour at his village, from whence a fishing business and a small foreign and coasting trade was supported, he early discovered an inclination for marine pursuits and wandering, and at length went to sea as a cabin-boy. He applied himself very assiduously to the study of navigation, and by his application and steadiness he attracted the notice of Sir Christopher Mengs, who removed him into his own ship as an apprentice. When in this capacity he overheard the Admiral express an earnest wish to have some order of consequence conveyed to a ship at some distance, and, being a lad of spirit, he offered to accomplish it. He was accordingly trusted, and swam through the enemy's line of ships, with the despatches in his mouth, bringing back a reply in safety. This action gave him notoriety, and he soon came to be regarded as a youth of promise, and quickly attained preferment.

1650. —

Daring act of young Shovel when an apprentice.

In 1674 we find him in the rank of Lieutenant, and employed in the ship of Sir John Narborough, who was himself a Norfolk man, and had in consequence given him his countenance. In the autumn of the same year Sir John was appointed Commodore of a squadron, that was sent out to punish the piratical state of Tripoli, and, being ordered by his instructions to try negotiation as well as force, he sent Shovel on shore, and desired him to demand some satisfaction for the mischief that had been inflicted on British commerce, and an assurance that it should not be permitted to continue. The Lieutenant delivered his message with proper spirit, but failed in the mission because the

1674.

Lieutenant Shovel negotiates with the Dey of Tripoli.

1674. Dey, despising his youth, treated him with much disrespect, and sent him back to the Admiral with an unsatisfactory answer.

Sir John sent him in again, giving him instructions as to the turn he wished him to give to his msssion, namely, to make inquiries and observations on the condition and preparations for defence that existed on shore. Shovel endured a worse reception than before, but under a pretence for delaying his departure, he did not fail to carry out the Admiral's orders. He brought back such accurate observations on the force and distribution of the shipping and the forts as satisfied Narborough that it was quite practicable to burn the ships in harbour, in spite of the forts and defences; and he fixed upon Shovel to direct the blow that he meditated. Accordingly, in the night of the 4th March, young Cloudesley, with all the boats of the fleet filled with combustibles, went boldly into the harbour, and, having surprised and seized the guard-boat in silence, he boldly passed the Mole, where he destroyed four large armed ships, and brought back his boats safely without the loss of a single man. This brilliant exploit contributed to increase his reputation in the profession, the result being that the Dey immediately sued for peace. Sir John Narborough gave so honourable an account of the Lieutenant in his letters and despatches that it raised him to the rank of Commander, and he was appointed to the "Sapphire," and afterwards to the "James" galley.

Gallant exploit of Lieutenant Shovel.

1679. In November, 1679, Captain Shovel was employed on shore in the defence of Tangier, which, at that time belonged to the British Crown, and was besieged by a Moorish army, who, on the 8th of the month, made a desperate attempt to carry the place by storm, but were repulsed with great bravery. Captain Shovel displayed the best conduct on this occasion, on which he received a wound that disabled him for some time after. The King's faithful Commons would not assist

Captain Shovel at the defence of Tangier.

His Majesty in a matter which they considered a mere personal matter. Tangier had been received as part of the dowry of the Queen; and a considerable sum of money had in fact been expended already on the Mole, and now in consequence of want of funds Charles was obliged to leave that unfinished; and, at length, in 1683, about twenty sail of ships were sent in to destroy utterly the town and castle and Mole of Tangier, and to choke up the haven, in order to get free from the further expense of it. 1680. — Tangier abandoned in 1683.

Shovel was again in England in 1680, and James Duke of York, then at the head of the Admiralty, entertained so high an opinion of his merit as to appoint him to the "Dover" frigate, in which command he was when the Revolution broke out. It appears that Shovel had a grateful regard for the sailor-king, but being avowedly unfriendly to his arbitrary measures, he and his ship's crew went heartily over to the Prince of Orange. In 1689 he was transferred to the "Edgar," in which command he distinguished himself greatly in Herbert's action against Château-Regnaud; and in consequence, when William III. came down to review the fleet at Portsmouth, his courage and conduct were so recommended to the King that His Majesty conferred on him the honour of Knighthood. In the following year Sir Cloudesley was given the "Monk," 60, and was employed in carrying the King and his army into Ireland, who was so pleased with his energy and activity on the occasion that he did him the honour to deliver him a commission of Rear-Admiral of the Blue with his own hand. In 1690 he assisted General Kirke in the reduction of Duncannon Castle; and in January following he was with the fleet that conveyed the King to Holland. In the battle of Beachy Head, where few or none of our English fleet came into action, but just his squadron only, he was deeply engaged in the ship he was aboard of, and made good 1688. Shovel joins the Prince of Orange. 1689. Knighted by William III. 1690.

1690. his character so manifestly, that the French knew him right well ever after. On his return he was ordered "to look into Brest," and, when on this duty, having hoisted French colours, he very nearly captured forty sail of merchantmen coming out of that harbour, and, although he missed the capture of the whole, he took seven or eight, and destroyed others.

1692. In 1692 Sir Cloudesley Shovel became Rear-Admiral of the Red, and, with his flag on the "Royal William," 100, he had his full share in Russell's glorious victory of La Hogue. In 1693 he was one of the joint-Admirals who were given charge of the fleet, at that time our Admiral became, for a season, in consequence of misfortunes that happened in naval affairs, an object of popular odium, but, after Parliament had investigated the affair, he gave so clear and satisfactory an account of the matter that it satisfied the people, and his character remained unimpeached. He had, however, with Sir George Rooke, protected the celebrated Smyrna fleet so indifferently that the French Admiral de Tourville captured and scattered them over the ocean, inflicting great damage on British shipping, and this prejudiced him again, as it was a result very offensive to the pride and prestige of the Navy in the eyes of the nation. The Dutch on this occasion issued a caricature in which the French were seen capturing the merchantmen on every side, while Sir Cloudesley Shovel was represented on board his own ship with his hands tied behind him, his colleagues, Admirals Killigrew and Delaval, having each of them hold of the cord so as to prevent his action and interference. Campbell records of him that he demonstrated fully in his defence, that "he became an eye-witness of the impossibility of doing what his orders directed to be done, so that he was regarded as a man who would command success when it was possible, and omit nothing in his power when it was not."

1693. Satisfactory result of an inquiry into the conduct of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

Useful rather than brilliant was Sir Cloudesley's

next service, when, in 1694, he went to sea, under Lord Berkeley, in the expedition to Camaret Bay, where he distinguished himself by his dexterous embarkation of the land forces, under General Talmash, upon the small neck of land lying at the mouth of the river of Brest. Instead of trusting to such men as our Admiral, however, a young and eccentric son of a Duke, who had exhibited some talent in the construction of his own yacht—the Marquis of Carmarthen—had solicited and obtained the rank of Rear-Admiral, and was put over our hero's head by the Admiral-in-Chief with the direction of the attack. The young lord was as brave as a lion, and it was thought that he posted the ships in such a manner as to have given great assistance to the land forces, and to have done the enemy considerable mischief; nevertheless, the whole thing failed, the General was mortally wounded and driven back, and some 400 of his troops were killed, and as many taken prisoners.

1694. — Sir Cloudesley Shovel embarks the land forces at Camaret Bay.

This is the affair of which Macaulay most unjustly accuses the great Marlborough of having basely (out of jealousy of Talmash) given intelligence to the French Government, and thus occasioned the failure; yet Tyndall and other historians record that "this expedition could not but prove unsuccessful, the French having had time to provide themselves against it, the design having been the town-talk in London before it was put into execution." The famous engineer, Vauban, had been sent down by Louis XIV. to put Brest into a posture of defence, who thus reported to the King before the English fleet arrived: "That His Majesty need be under no apprehension, that he had made all the subterraneous passages under the castle bomb-proof; that he had placed 90 mortars and 300 pieces of cannon in proper places; that all His Majesty's ships were out of reach of the enemy's bombs, and all the troops in good order; that there were 300 bombardiers in the place, with 300 gentlemen volunteers and 4000

Unjust reflections of Macaulay on the conduct of Marlborough.

1694. regular troops." If Marlborough had been ever so much a traitor, it might be supposed that General Talmash, by his own observation, might have seen that the preparations were too strong for him.

On the failure of the above expedition against Brest it was deemed desirable to send the fleet along the coast of France, and, while Berkeley carried a portion of the ships to bombard Dieppe, Shovel carried others against Dunkirk and Calais; but none of these operations had any marked success. These "bombardings" are savage things in war, and ought not to be practised excepting on rare occasions. Doubtless they spread a terror along the entire shore of an enemy's country, and batteries had to be raised and armed, and defenders sought for amid the rural population; but, on the other hand, it is an abuse of war, to occasion death and destruction of property among non-combatants without some very considerable object. At this time, however, the French had not so much right to complain, for they had bombarded Genoa without a previous declaration of war, and had put the whole country of Holland under military execution, causing, in the mere act of self-defence, the wholesale destruction of the land, by laying entire districts under ruinous inundations. When one nation thus themselves carry out the destruction of peasant life and private property, they cannot complain that the enemy retaliates with the same method of carrying on the war.

Admiral Shovel bombards Dunkirk and Calais.

1696. In 1696, Sir Cloudesley again sailed out of the Downs, on the 3rd April, with several men-of-war and bomb-vessels, having Benbow under him, and threw between 300 and 400 bombs into Calais, most of which fell in the town and among the embarkations in the piers, and set fire to every thing of timber, whether works on land or shipping. The damage done was very considerable, and the church and barracks were much spoilt and defaced. Our Admiral was also at this time sent on several expeditions of

Admiral Shovel again bombards Calais.

the like kind, and bombarded Dieppe and many other places on the coast of France. 1702.

Admiral Shovel sent to Spain to reinforce Sir G. Rooke.

Upon the accession of Queen Anne he was advanced to the rank of Admiral of the White, and, in the autumn of 1702, was sent with a squadron of twenty sail to reinforce Sir George Rooke on the Spanish coasts. He reached Vigo just after the Admiral had destroyed the galleons, and he had only the duty left him of bringing home the spoils of the Spanish and French fleets after Rooke had captured them. Nevertheless, in the summer of the same year, he was sent out to take the chief command beyond the Straits, where he protected the trade with great efficiency; and, in the following year, his armament was considerably increased in order to assist the inhabitants of the province of Languedoc, called Les Cevennois, who had been severely persecuted on account of their religion by Louis XIV., and who had appealed for the assistance of the Protestant powers. He had 35 English and 12 Dutch ships placed under his command for this object, but could effect nothing beyond the disembarkation of a force of 2500 marines, under Brigadier Seymour, upon the coast.

1704.

Shares with Sir G. Rooke in the capture of Gibraltar.

In 1704 Shovel joined Rooke's fleet, and, thus reinforced, the British flag in the Mediterranean was in a perfect condition to meet the French, who had effected a junction of their fleets from Brest and Toulon. In the pride of their strength, Rooke and Sir Cloudesley, on hearing that Gibraltar was but slenderly provided with a garrison, determined on making an attempt to carry it by escalade. They accordingly sailed boldly into the bay, and landed some 1800 men, under the command of the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt. On the Governor's refusal to accept a summons, the ships were all moored, and opened such a cannonade on the 23rd July, that about 15,000 shot and shell were poured into the place in five or six hours, under which the Admiral and the

1704. assailants got possession of the fortress, in the capture of which Shovel had no especial share, but as soon as the garrison was established and provisioned, he continued under the orders of Sir George Rooke, and was with him at Malaga, where, in the van of the combined fleet of England and Holland, he encountered the French fleet, under the Count de Thoulouse, on the 13th August (by a singular coincidence this was the actual day that the victory of Marlborough was gained over the French army at Blenheim); Sir Cloudesley going freely before the wind dashed gallantly against De Villette and Du Casse, and after a stout conflict set the ship of the former on fire, which blew up. Sir George brought up the *corps-de-bataille*, which poured such an iron shower on their opponents that the ships of Belle-isle de Grancy, D'Osmond de Rouvroi, De Pontac, and De la Roche-Allard, all took fire, and were obliged to quit the French line to extinguish the flames. The fleets were nearly of equal strength, but Sir Cloudesley and Sir John Leake secured the weather-gage, which afforded the opportunity of closing with the enemy, which it was always the maxim of Shovel to accomplish. However, all the British ships began soon to feel the want of ammunition, so much having been expended on the capture of Gibraltar; but here again Sir Cloudesley Shovel brought up timely aid, having been more provident than others.

Battle of Malaga, Aug. 13.

The action continued till near midnight, having commenced early; but in this long action there was no ship on either side taken. However, the van, under our Admiral, suffered severely, and the "Lennox," the "Warspite," the "Tilbury," and the "Swiftsure," which were all in that division, suffered more than any others in the fleet. Sir Cloudesley's own report of the action is very interesting: "Our number of ships that fought in the line of battle were pretty equal. I think they were forty-nine and we fifty-three; but Sir George Rooke reserved some of the fifty-gun ships to observe

Sir Cloudesley Shovel's own report of the action.

if they attempted any thing with their galleys, of which they had twenty-four. Their ships did exceed in bigness. I judge they had seventeen three-deck ships, and we had but seven. The battle began on Sunday, the 13th, soon after ten in the morning, and in the centre and rear of the fleet it continued till night parted. In the van of the fleet, where I commanded, and led with Sir John Leake, we, having the weather-gage, had an opportunity of coming as near as we pleased, which was within pistol-shot, before firing a gun; through which means and God's assistance the enemy declined us, and were upon the run in less than four hours, by which time we had too little wind, so that their galleys towed off their lame ships and others as they pleased; for the Admirals of the White and Blue, with whom we fought, had seven galleys attending upon them. 1704.

"As soon as the enemy got out of reach of our guns, the battle continuing pretty hot astern, and some of our ships in the Admiral's squadron towing out of the line, which I understood afterwards was for want of shot, I ordered all the ships of my division to slack all their sails, to close the line in the centre. This working had that good effect that several of the enemy's ships astern, which had kept their line, having their top-sails and fore-sails set, shot up abreast of us; but they were so warmly received before they got abroadside that, with their boats ahead, and their sprit-sails set, they towed from us without giving us the opportunity of firing at them. The ships of my squadron escaped pretty well, and I the best of all, though I never took greater pains in all my life to be soundly beaten, for I set all my sails and rowed with three boats ahead to get alongside with the Admiral of the White and Blue; but he, outsailing me, shunned fighting, and lay alongside of the little ships. Notwithstanding, the engagement was very sharp, and, I think, the like between

1704. two fleets never has been seen. There is hardly a ship that must not shift one mast, and some all. In my belief there are not three spare top-masts nor three fishes in the fleet, nor above ten jury-masts to set up."

The French fleet sails for Toulon.

It might have been expected that the action would have been recommenced on the next morning, but the young Count de Thoulouse was advised, as has been said, by the Maréchal d'Estrées, to stand away for Toulon; and, although the British fleet followed him and was for more than two days in sight, the enemy declined to engage, and made haste to get safe in Toulon. Shovel it was admitted had the principal honour of this day, for he had contributed most to the discomfiture of the enemy.

Upon Sir Cloudesley's return to England after this service, Prince George of Denmark, then Lord High Admiral, presented him to the Queen as Rear-Admiral of England, and he met with a very gracious reception from Her Majesty.

1705. Sir Cloudesley Shovel commands with Peterborough at the capture of Barcelona.

In 1705 he commanded with the Earls of Peterborough and Monmouth a conjoint expedition to the coast of Spain, arriving on the 12th August before Barcelona; and, it was chiefly through the activity of the Admiral and the fleet, that complete success attended the siege of that place. The fortress was garrisoned by 5000 men, under the Duke de Popoli, in the interest of King Philip, but possession of it having been obtained by the British, the place was given over to King Charles, who entered it in triumph on 4th October. Shovel, having now finished his work, returned to winter in England.

In the succeeding summer Sir Cloudesley again assumed the command of the British fleet in the Mediterranean. A scheme had been projected by the Marquis de Guiscard for an invasion of France, and with this view an army of 11,000 men, under the Earl Rivers [1], was embarked on board the squadron

Projected invasion of France abandoned.

[1] The Earl Rivers, although a warrior and statesman of some

that the Admiral carried out, sailing on the 13th August. So soon, however, as they got to sea, Shovel discovered that the Marquis was a mere adventurer, and had the most slender qualifications for success in such an enterprise: therefore, it was resolved not to attempt even an alarm on the shores of France, but, in the execution of their ultimate destination, to proceed to Lisbon. 1706.

Here he arrived on the 3rd November, and the Admiral and General were received very graciously by the King, who resided in the country under grievous bodily infirmity, of which in a few weeks he died. It happened just at the time that some ships of the fleet proceeding outwards on a cruise did not receive the customary salute from the Castle of Belem; on which the Admiral had an audience of the new King, when, to his surprise, he was received with marked indignity. On this Sir Cloudesley, suspecting some change of policy, demanded an explanation, and, on receiving only a frivolous excuse, he gave the Portuguese Secretary of State to understand that if the British flag should be again insulted he should take immediate satisfaction from the mouth of his cannon. Nothing, however, further occurred in this matter: the fleet quitted Lisbon, on the 2nd January, 1707, when the expedition proceeded to Alicant, where lay the British army under Lords Peterborough and Galway, and General Stanhope.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel at Lisbon, when slighted by the new King, demands an explanation.

1707.

In the month of June following, an attack was concerted against Toulon by the English and Dutch fleets, under Shovel, with the confederate army, under the command of the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene. The expedition was secretly concentrated in the roads of Nice, where, on the 11th July, the Generals and Ministers were entertained on board the "Association," the flag-ship of Sir

Shovel commands the fleet at the combined attack of the allies on Toulon.

repute in his day, had been better known as a great rake, and was the father of Savage, the poet, by the Countess of Macclesfield.

1707. Cloudesley Shovel, and the same day the Imperial army passed the Var, to the astonishment of the French. Six hundred sailors and marines were forthwith embarked in boats to flank the advance, and, being rowed to within musket-shot of the enemy's batteries which were deemed inaccessible, they were led forward sword in hand under our Admiral; the Duke of Savoy, taking advantage of the enemy's consternation, now passed the river without further opposition, and, on the 14th August, crowned the eminences that surrounded Toulon. The weather and the state of the sea did not admit of much co-operation from the fleet; nevertheless, the fortress that defended the Mole was attacked by it and reduced, when a bombardment ensued. But Louis XIV., as soon as he had discovered the object of the expedition, was exceedingly alarmed at this attempt upon his arsenal, and resolved to leave no stone unturned for the protection of the town and harbour.

The Imperialists pass the Var.

Defeat and death of the Prince of Saxe-Gotha.

The important port of St. Catherine, held by the gallant young Prince of Saxe-Gotha, had been attacked with vigour, but not being supported, His Highness was driven out of the place and killed, and the garrison cut to pieces. A great number of houses were destroyed by the bombardment; which also burned or rendered unserviceable eight men-of-war, and blew up several magazines. Had the Imperialists acted with corresponding energy from the land side the expedition would have had success, but the Duke of Savoy procrastinated to such a degree as gave rise to an imputation that he was not sincere; and the operations were retarded by a difference between him and his illustrious kinsman Prince Eugene; so that in the end Marshal de Tessé arrived to the succour of the port with twenty battalions, when the Imperialist army was compelled to abandon the enterprise, and, having, on the 18th, embarked all the heavy artillery and the hospital on board the fleet, the Duke did not wait to receive even an insult from the enemy, but ordered

The allies abandon the enterprise.

his army to decamp in the night. Old Sir Cloudesley— 1707.
sufficiently disgusted (for he had confidently calculated upon capturing the forty sail of the line which he blockaded in the harbour with his ships)—had no mind to quit his post without a parting blessing, and, therefore, leaving the soldiers to go where they pleased, he opened a tremendous fire on the town and port, which did so much mischief, that he had the satisfaction of seeing eight of the enemy's capital ships burnt and destroyed. They were all splendid vessels, varying from 90 to 52 guns a-piece; but the enemy at length got some guns and mortars to bear upon the fleet, which was so shattered by the shot that the ships were glad to get away; and, after having landed the guns and hospital at the mouth of the Var, and left eighteen sail of the line to watch the coast under Sir Thomas Dilkes, Sir Cloudesley set sail for England with the remainder. He entered into soundings on the 22nd October, and had ninety-fathom water, but the gallant Sir Cloudesley Shovel was never again heard of. The flag-ship "Association," 90, with two other ships of war, the "Eagle" and "Romney," stood on their different courses, and, it is supposed, they all thus mistook the lights in the islands of Scilly and struck on the rocks called the "Bishop and his Clerks;" but, as all on board perished, the accident has never been accounted for.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel bombards the town and port, but his fleet suffers severely from the enemy's fire.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel is wrecked on the Scilly Islands.

The next morning the body of the fine old Admiral was found among the rocks of St. Mary by some fishermen. The story is that Sir Cloudesley had on his finger a valuable emerald ring, and, after that the body was stripped and plundered, it was again buried in the sand; but some of the fellows gave information of the ring, which induced an inquiry, and the body was exhumed, and carried into Plymouth on board the "Salisbury." The Queen ordered it to be immediately brought to London; and, after lying in state for some days, the gallant old Admiral was consigned to the

The body of Sir Cloudesley Shovel is discovered by fishermen.

1707. dust with great funereal pomp, and at the national expense, in Westminster Abbey, where a costly monument (but, it must be confessed, the most tasteless) was erected to his memory by Her Majesty's direction. Sir Cloudesley was at the time of his death Rear-Admiral of England, Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's fleets, and one of the Council of Admiralty to Prince George of Denmark. He married the daughter of his early friend and patron, Sir John Narborough, by whom he left two daughters, but both his step-sons perished with the Admiral; but Lady Romney left children, and so it is believed did Lady d'Aeth, both of which families are descended from this redoubtable warrior.

His remains are buried in great state in Westminster Abbey.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel was one of the greatest sea Commanders of his own or any other age, nor indeed has this island produced a greater in public or private life—of undaunted courage and resolution, of wonderful presence of mind in the hottest engagements, and of consummate skill and experience; but, more than all, he was a just, generous, honest, and good man—who was the artificer of his own fortune, and advanced by personal merit alone, for he from the lowest beginnings raised himself to the most considerable professional eminence. He discharged every public employment with ability, honour, and integrity. In private life he was eminent for his generosity and frankness; and he conducted himself throughout a life, which was thus prematurely closed at the age of fifty-eight, with so much tenderness, affection, and regard towards every one who was in any way connected with him in life, that, as no man lived more beloved in life, so no man died more truly lamented[1].

His character.

[1] Lives of the Admirals; British Naval Biography; Chalmers; Rapin's History, &c.; Life and Glorious Actions of Sir C. Shovel: London, 1709; Lediard's Naval History of England.

SIR GEORGE ROOKE.

BRITISH ADMIRAL.

Born 1650. Died 1709.

THIS distinguished warrior was the eldest son of Sir William Rooke, Knight, of St. Lawrence Priory, near Canterbury, where he was born 1650. He showed much early aptitude for education, and early evinced such evidence of capacity and good judgment, that his father was disposed, by a suitable education, to qualify him for one of the learned professions, but the inclination of the youth for a naval life was too persistent to be overcome, and, yielding to his entreaties, his father allowed him to make a voyage at sea as a volunteer to test the strength of his attachment for it; and he never swerved from his boyish fancies, but by his own merit attained to the rank of Post-Captain at the age of thirty. Nothing is known of the steps that led to this advancement, but the command of

1650. Birth of Rooke.

He becomes a Post-Captain at the age of thirty.

1680. ships of war was not at this period ordinarily bestowed on men so young.

After James, Duke of York, was placed at the head of the Admiralty, he was named to the "Deptford," a fourth-rate, of which vessel he was in command at the time of the Revolution. He appears to have supported the government of King William with much zeal, since he was sent, in 1689, as Commodore with some ships to watch the Irish coast, and sailed direct to the relief of Londonderry, then besieged by the fugitive King. He afterwards assisted in conveying the troops under the Duke of Schomberg, and in the action for the reduction of Carrickfergus. In 1690, he was appointed Rear-Admiral, and was present with the red squadron under Herbert, Earl of Torrington, in the engagement with the French fleet, under De Tourville, off Beachy Head. In 1691 he had the honour of conveying King William to Holland, when he went to assume the command of the Dutch army in Flanders, and had likewise a similar honour the following year, when he was named Vice-Admiral, and, in command of the blue squadron, gathered his full share of laurels at the successful battle of La Hogue, under Russell, Earl of Orford. After the French Admiral had been driven under the shore-batteries, where many of his ships grounded, Vice-Admiral Rooke, with his blue squadron of twenty sail, and accompanied by many fire-ships, stood in after the enemy, and, shifting his flag to the "Eagle," set fire to four three-deckers and three third-rates, which were burned to the water's edge, under a terrible fire from the Irish camp and the batteries on shore. Then, rehoisting his flag on board the "Neptune," he came again to his Admiral's orders, having experienced no greater loss than ten men in this distinguished service. For this exploit he was rewarded with an annual pension of 1000*l.*, and received the honour of knighthood.

1689. Rooke sails to the relief of Londonderry.

1690.

1691.

Rooke's pre-eminent bravery at La Hogue.

He is knighted.

1693.

In 1693 Sir George, in command of the red squadron of twenty-three ships of war, was sent to convoy the Smyrna fleet from the Mediterranean through the Straits. The French Admiral de Tourville had assembled a very powerful fleet, with which he lay in ambush, for their interception in Lagos Bay, a design which that eminent warrior had managed with great secrecy and prudence. Rooke was sailing proudly along, having 400 richly freighted merchantmen, English, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and German, in charge, when, on the 17th June at daybreak, his scouts signalled a French fleet of eighty sail. Under this surprise a French fire-ship was permitted to fall into his hands for the purpose of deceiving him, the Captain of which assured him that the enemy had no more than fifteen sail.

Sir George Rooke appointed to convoy the Smyrna fleet.

He is surprised by De Tourville.

With great craft the leading French ships were seen stretching out from land, towing, with their boats ahead, as if endeavouring to escape from the English. Sir George accordingly was induced to lead for an attack, but about noon he plainly perceived the strength of the French fleet, and signalled the Dutch Admiral, who served under his orders, to come on board his flag-ship, to confer with him under the circumstances. It is spoken of as highly evincing Rooke's good judgment that, although it might have admitted of question whether at a moment of so much imminence it had not been safer to push forward and engage, yet he at once resolved to signal to the entire convoy to disperse and seek shelter where they might. The smaller ships were advised to run along shore where there was shallow water, so as to endeavour to attain Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz, while Sir George and the Dutch Admiral, with such merchantmen as chose to follow them, stood away under easy sail for Madeira. De Tourville immediately pursued, and about evening came up into the midst of the British fleet. About ninety of the convoy were taken or destroyed, after a more or less obstinate resistance,

De Tourville captures ninety of the convoy.

Rooke sails to Madeira.

1693. but the greater portion of the Smyrna merchantmen, which fortune seemed to have given into the hands of the French, were preserved by their own boldness and address. Fortunately for Rooke a steady gale sprung up at north-west, so that on the morning of the 27th the line-of-battle ships were well on their way, which prevented the Count d'Estrées or De Forbin, who were sent with two squadrons after them, to come up with them. From the Madeiras Sir George directed his course towards Cork, but, M. de Coetlegon coming up across their course with another French squadron they engaged, when an English ship of war was set on fire, and about twenty-nine more of the merchantmen were secured as prizes. The Admiral, however, safely reached England on the 3rd August, where he was very favourably received, and he suffered nothing in his reputation from the disaster, for the merchants considered that an immense booty had been saved from the enemy by the superior skill which Sir George Rooke had evinced for their escape.

Rooke returns to England, Aug. 3.

1697. In 1697 Sir George was elected Member of Parliament for Portsmouth, and he now became a political character, but in this new calling his free and independent spirit did not recommend him to ministerial favour. He had been made a Lord of the Admiralty immediately after his return, but an unworthy party attempt was afterwards made by Lord Orford to ruin him in King William's esteem, and to get him removed from the Admiralty Board. Macaulay describes the quarrel, which he attributes wholly to "the haughty and perverse nature that would be content with nothing but absolute dominion" in Russell, who, in fact, eventually resigned because His Majesty answered, plainly, "I will never displace Sir George Rooke, for he has served me faithfully at sea, and I will not regard his acting in the House of Commons as he thinks best for the service of his country;" an answer that was worthy of this great Prince, who

Sir George Rooke enters Parliament, and is made a Lord of the Admiralty.

thus showed his zeal for the liberty of Parliament; and to this day it is established that officers of the Navy and Army are rarely disturbed for their votes in either House of Parliament. 1697.

In 1700 a fleet under Sir George sailed to the Baltic. A war had been lighted up in the North, where the Kings of Denmark and Poland, and the Elector of Brandenburg, confederated to destroy the young Swedish King Charles XII. Rooke, with thirty English and Dutch ships, was joined in the Sound by the Swedish fleet, and forthwith bombarded Copenhagen, but without very serious effect. King William, like all good soldiers, disapproved of bombardments, and was indisposed to proceed to such extremities against Denmark. His Majesty accordingly directed Sir George to be informed that he was not to carry out hostilities, but to offer his mediation; and a treaty was concluded between these belligerents about the middle of August, principally effected by the firmness and resolution of Rooke, who had to restrain the fighting disposition of the young Swedish King as well as the hostility of his oppressors. "Sir," said Sir George Rooke to Charles XII., "I was sent hither, to assist your Majesty, but not to ruin the King of Denmark." The States-General publicly thanked their Stadtholder for having trusted this matter to so prudent and able a Commander as the British Admiral. 1700. Sir George Rooke sails to the Baltic, and bombards Copenhagen. Charles XII. of Sweden and Sir G. Rooke.

In 1701 he voted for Mr. Harley to be Speaker of the House of Commons, in opposition to the Court, which made the Whig party his enemy, so that, although on the accession of Queen Anne, Sir George was constituted Vice-Admiral and Lieutenant of the fleets and seas of the kingdom, he was a marked man with the Whig party, which at the time laid him aside by proposing Sir Cloudesley Shovel to higher favour. Prince George, however, when Lord High Admiral, immediately recalled him into active employment upon the rupture with France, and he hoisted the union flag 1701. Sir George Rooke opposes the Whig party.

1702. on the "Royal Sovereign," 110, on the 19th of June, and put to sea with a fleet of 30 British and 20 Dutch sail of the line, and with an armament of 13,000 soldiers on board, to support the cause of the Archduke Charles in Spain, against the claim of Philip of Bourbon. On the 12th August Rooke anchored before Cadiz, and summoned the Governor to surrender, which being refused, the Marquis of Ormond was landed with the troops, and made himself master of the forts of St. Catherine and St. Mary; but, the question being raised of bombarding the city, it was deemed impolitic to alienate the affections of so important a place from King Charles, and the troops were re-embarked on the 12th September, *re infectâ*. Poor Spain has never, however, been under any hostility with the English but her wealth tempted her enemy to robbery and plunder. The soldiers brought with them on board the ships a most discreditable amount of stolen property; in seizing which the general officers set a very disgraceful example, which the Commander-in-Chief Ormond did nothing to restrain[1]; and I fear that the sister-service proved themselves to be no whit behind the military in this quality.

Sir George Rooke sails to Spain, summons Cadiz, and captures the forts of St. Catherine and St. Mary.

Disgraceful rapacity of the officers and men in both services.

Rooke, well aware that such a place as Cadiz could by no means be taken by a *coup-de-main*, followed out his further instructions, and prepared a squadron to carry out some of the troops to the West Indies, and intended to carry home the rest of the fleet; but, being under the necessity of renewing its water, he carried his fleet off the coast of Algarve, and sent in three or four of his ships to obtain a supply of

Further operations against Cadiz abandoned.

[1] Tindal relates that Sir Henry Bellasis and Sir Charles O'Hara were by Her Majesty's orders put under arrest for having, by their example, promoted and encouraged the plundering of Port St. Mary, and the former was found guilty and dismissed the service. A proclamation was also issued for the discovery and recovery of goods, plate, and other effects, plundered or embezzled from the galleons at Vigo; but this proclamation had little or no effect.

that element in Lagos Bay. It happened, however, 1702.
that Captain Hardy of the "Pembroke," and Mr. —
Beavoir, his Chaplain, heard, on landing, that a messenger had come in with important despatches for the Admiral from Mr. Methuen, the British Ambassador at Lisbon, communicating that the Spanish galleons, twenty-two in number, from the West Indies, laden with an immense treasure, had put into harbour at Vigo, under convoy of a French fleet of thirty men-of-war under Château-Regnaud. Immediate measures were consequently adopted to apprise the Admiral of this intelligence, who, on the 6th October, turned the head of the fleet in the direction of Galicia, intent on making the attempt to destroy the entire armament at anchor in the bay. He knew that the entrance was narrow and of good defence, but it was reported that the lines had been neglected, and that the militia had been withdrawn out of them. The British fleet came to anchor before the harbour of Vigo on the 10th October, almost unperceived by the enemy, in consequence of the state of the weather. The Admiral did not lose a moment in testing the truth of the reports he had received of the defences, and ascertained that the fleet was all moored within the estuary, which the mouth of a river widened. A boom, constructed of masts and yards with cables and chains, had been stretched across the entrance, which was defended by an unfinished castle and an ungarnished fort, and moored at each end to a seventy-gun-ship. Within the boom five ships of war were anchored, with their broadsides towards the sea, to defend the entrance of the harbour. There not being water enough to admit the first-rates, Sir George shifted his flag into the "Somerset," a third-rate, and the other Admirals followed his example. The Duke of Ormond landed with the troops, 2500 in number, to make a diversion, and, as Rooke apprehended that the whole fleet might not find a berth within the harbour, fifteen English and ten Dutch, with all the fire-ships and bomb-

Sir George Rooke resolves to attack the French fleet at Vigo.

The land forces under the Duke of Ormond

1702. vessels, were anchored by their respective Admirals off the harbour. The land forces, with much gallantry and success, soon made themselves masters of all the batteries, into which they fought their way sword in hand, and as soon as the British Ensign was seen to fly from the top of the castle, the fleet outside, led by Admiral Hopson, in the "Torbay," and carrying a press of sail, bore right against the boom with such collected force that it broke at the first shock, and, notwithstanding the prodigious fire on every side—especially from the two seventies, "Le Bourbon" and "L'Espérance"—the passage for the whole combined force was speedily effected. The "Torbay" was severely shattered, and would have been burned by a fire-ship but for the uncommon exertions of her officers and crew. The enemy defended themselves with great bravery and resolution, but as soon as Château-Regnaud saw the boom broken, and the castle under the enemy's flag, with their fleet ready to fall in amongst his ships, he ordered the flagship to be set on fire, which example was followed by many of his Captains, so that there was soon a widespread and fearful conflagration of the entire French fleet.

capture the batteries and castle.

The boom is forced, and the fleet enter the harbour.

Rooke and all his officers exerted themselves with much diligence to check the progress of the fire, but fifteen men-of-war and six or seven galleons were either burnt or sunk. Six galleons were, however, secured by the English, and five by the Dutch, so that the booty captured was immense. As to the amount, it is very difficult to form a satisfactory estimate. It was said that the galleons had brought in them twenty millions of pieces of eight, besides other rich commodities in the way of merchandize. The enemy are thought to have removed out of the ships a great deal of their valuable cargoes, and much was sunk or burnt in the action. The Duke of Ormond with the army, having marched inland to Rodondala, got possession there of a great deal of plate belonging to the French officers. Not above two

Great losses of the enemy in ships and treasure.

millions of silver, and the value of five millions in goods, were thought to have been brought away by the English and Dutch. What made this victory the more considerable was, that it was gained with inconsiderable loss of life, there not having been fifty landsmen killed and wounded, and very few seamen. Indeed the French seamen and soldiers for the most part escaped, because the confederates had no cavalry with which to pursue them. 1702. —

On the following day Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with a fleet of twenty-nine sail, joined Sir George Rooke's fleet, when, after some consultation, it was determined by the Admiral that his own fleet should proceed home, leaving Sir Cloudesley at Vigo to endeavour to raise the sunken galleons and men-of-war, and to bring them to England after him. Sir George arrived in the Downs in the first days of November, and Sir Cloudesley on the 17th, when the Duke of Ormond's troops were disembarked and marched to Canterbury, and thence to London, where they were received with great marks of favour by the Queen, and with loud acclamations by the people. The thanks of both Houses were cheerfully voted to both services and their leaders, and the Speaker (Harley) complimented Sir George Rooke in his place in the House in these just and elegant terms:—

Sir George Rooke arrives in England.

Thanks of Parliament to Ormond and Sir G. Rooke.

"In former times Admirals and Generals have had success against France and Spain separately, but this action at Vigo hath been a victory over both confederated together. You have not only spoiled the enemy, but you have enriched your own country; common victories bring terror to the conquered, but you brought destruction upon them and additional strength to England. France had endeavoured to support its ambition by the riches of India, but your success, Sir, hath only left them the burthen of Spain, and stripped them of their assistance of it. The wealth of Spain and the ships of France are, by this

Speech of the Speaker (Harley).

1702. victory, brought over to our juster cause. This is an action so glorious in the performance, and so extensive in its consequences, that as all times will preserve the memory of it, so every day will inform us of the benefit."

To which Sir George Rooke replied:—

Reply of Sir George Rooke.

"I am extremely sensible of this great honour, and shall take all the care I can to preserve it to my grave, and convey it to my posterity, without spot or blemish, by a constant affection and zealous perseverance in the Queen's service. Sir, no man hath the command of fortune, but every man hath virtue at his will; and though I may not always be successful in my country's service as upon this expedition, yet I may presume to assure you, I shall never be the more faulty."

Sir George Rooke made a Privy Councillor.

The Admiral had the honour of being raised to the dignity of a Privy Councillor, but it does not appear that he had any other benefit; though he had, like most great men, the envy of his contemporaries, among whom it is sad to find the Marquis of Ormond, who succeeded in raising a prejudice against his gallant colleague in the House of Lords; but, nevertheless, a resolution being put to their lordships, was carried to this effect: "That Sir George Rooke had done his duty pursuant to the Councils of War, like a brave officer, to the honour of the British nation."

Jealousy of Ormond.

Resolution of the House of Lords.

1704. Early in the year 1704 our Admiral sailed from Spithead, in command of a numerous fleet, to convoy to Lisbon the Archduke Charles of Austria, who had been acknowledged by Great Britain and her allies as the rightful King of Spain. He was received on board the flag-ship with all the honours, but in consequence of a continuance of stormy weather, the Sovereign designate did not reach Lisbon till nearly six weeks after his departure from St. Helen's, and he landed in the Tagus on 23rd February, where he was received with all outward demonstrations of joy and welcome. Previously, however, to the King's landing a question arose on a

Sir George Rooke convoys the Archduke Charles to Spain.

Incident at Lisbon.

punctilio very much and very properly considered in the Navy. The Portuguese desired that, on the King's coming on board the British flag-ship and striking his standard out of compliment to that of England, the Admiral's flag should be struck and remain lowered while the Portuguese royal standard flew on board, and they induced the King of Spain to make this proposal to Sir George Rooke; but the Admiral replied that His Majesty, as long as he continued on board, might command the flag to be struck when he pleased, but that, as soon as he had quitted the ship, the British Admiral was under the necessity of executing his Sovereign's commission, which must always be executed under the national flag. This and some other reasons satisfied both Kings, so that the flag of England continued to fly while the royal standard was hoisted. 1704.

Sir George sailed from Lisbon through the Straits, considering that he was strong enough to oppose the French squadron from Toulon, which he heard was out of port in the Mediterranean. The Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, who had met King Charles at Lisbon, had assured His Majesty that there was a strong party in Barcelona, and among the inhabitants along the east coast of Spain, ready to declare for him when his flag should be seen, and Sir George accordingly sailed on with a view to make a demonstration before that fortress; but, soon after he quitted Lisbon, Mr. Methuen, the British Ambassador, having learned that the French squadron from Brest had been seen to pass the Tagus, was desirous that this important fact should be communicated to the British Admiral, and prevailed on a Captain of a man-of-war, who was left in port, to seek to carry the information to him. The Captain, knowing how stiff the Admiral always was on matters of order and discipline, represented that he dare not depart without sailing orders. Nevertheless he yielded to the necessity of the case, and got safely

1704. by the enemy's fleet, and brought the important advertisement to Sir George, who simulated his displeasure by the remark, "that on this occasion he could pass by his not observing instructions, but that, for the future, he would find that the safest course was always to obey orders."

Sir George Rooke a rigid disciplinarian.

On reaching Barcelona the King discovered that he had been misinformed as to the disposition of the Spanish people in the province of Catalonia, and Sir George represented that, although there was certainly a favourable disposition in many towards the Austrian cause, yet in reality it was not so unequivocal as to justify an attack on the place. Nevertheless, at the urgent solicitation of His Majesty, the troops were landed, on the 19th May, to the number of 2000 men, under the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, and a bombardment opened upon the body of the place; but, as it produced no effect, and there was no evidence of ardour or attachment to the royal cause, the troops were re-embarked, and Sir George carried away the fleet to fulfil other orders he had received from the Queen to carry relief to Nice and Villa Franca, places threatened with a siege from the Duke de Vendôme. As the fleet sailed they came across the French squadron sailing from Brest to Toulon, though the Admiral gave no impediment to its passage, by a happy accident, the presence of the British fleet preserved from capture a rich convoy of merchantmen from Scanderoon and Aleppo, under three or four frigates passing at the time, from falling into their hands.

Sir George Rooke bombards Barcelona, but without effect; he sails to Nice.

The English Ministry having heard from Methuen the mission of the Brest fleet into the Mediterranean, and fearing that Sir George Rooke might not be strong enough to resist the union of the fleets of Toulon and Brest in the Mediterranean, despatched a squadron of ships, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to reinforce the British fleet, who fell in with and joined

Sir George Rooke being reinforced

the Admiral off Tetuan. Sir George Rooke now felt strong enough for any work, and knowing that both French fleets were now certainly distant, and learning likewise that the important fortress of Gibraltar was slenderly provided with a garrison, a Council of War was called on board the flag-ship, on the 17th July, at which the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt and Sir Cloudesley Shovel assisted, who, after weighing the defect of orders from home, and, the difficulty and hazard of the enterprise, resolved to make the attack. 1704. — by Shovel, resolves to attack Gibraltar.

On the 21st Sir George Rooke carried his fleet into the bay, and summoned the Governor, the Marquis de Salines. On his refusal a cannonade was opened upon the fortress, under which, in order to cut off all communication between the country and the rock, the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt was landed, with all the troops, upon the isthmus, where he took post, while Rear-Admirals Byng and Vanderdussen moored their squadrons to act against the garrison. In five or six hours the Admiral saw that the enemy had abandoned the new Mole-head, and he immediately ordered all the boats of the fleet to be manned and armed, under Captain Whitaker, who received the conduct of this glorious enterprise, which was to secure the great platform. Captain Hicks and Captain Jumper of the Navy pushed their pinnaces to land and were the first on shore; but the Spaniards exploded a mine by which two Lieutenants and forty seamen were killed, and sixty seamen wounded. Notwithstanding, Whitaker resolutely held his ground, and receiving reinforcements next day, a small bastion, half-way between the Mole and the town, was carried sword in hand. Sir George upon this success proposed terms of capitulation to the Governor, who thought it prudent to accept them: and, on the 24th, the gates of Gibraltar were opened to the Prince of Hesse, who was constituted Governor in the name, and for the use, of King Charles III. of Spain. It was said that the capture was aided by the following

The Governor is summoned, July 21.

Gallant and successful attack of Captain Whitaker.

Surrender of the Governor, July 24.

1704. incident:—some seamen on the Mole platform ventured to climb the rock, and came upon a chapel at which all the Spanish women were congregated to implore the protection of the Virgin. They fled with cries into the town, and the alarm contributed to bring the Marquis de Salines to terms. This most important conquest was achieved with the loss of only 60 killed and 216 wounded to the British.

Probably all people are more or less inconsistent and inconsequent in the affairs of private life; and perhaps a popular Government must, in its very nature, be the most inconsistent and inconsequent of political institutions—and, certainly, we British are of all people the most wayward and changeable in our undertakings. We are swayed in every public act by party, and cannot be said to have a settled policy in any matter of high statesmanship, nor, with the exception of Sir George Lewis, have we had many writers to prove themselves something more than the mere politicians of a party at the moment.

Reflections on the importance and retention of Gibraltar.

We have, I think, a remarkable example of this in the case of Gibraltar. It never appears to have ever entered into any British statesman's head, prior to its capture, that it would be a good stroke of policy in England to secure a footing on distant shores to facilitate our commerce, &c., or that strongholds—such as Gibraltar, Malta, and Corfu—were useful additions to our power, for garrisons, magazines, and harbours, to increase our influence in the balance of power in Europe. It was, as we see, a mere accident induced two or three energetic and bold Admirals, upon a matter of casual information, to act without orders, and obtain possession of what must be deemed the best strategical point in all Europe for such a nation as Great Britain to acquire; but we had scarcely occupied it a quarter of a century before the ministers of George I., ignorant and incompetent as statesmen, offered to restore the Rock to Spain, without seeking any compensation

or substitute for it; and since then, although we have stoutly proved that we were able to defend what the prowess of our gallant tars had gained, yet the question of its restitution has again and again been put forward, and is even urged at the present moment. People are found so *squeamish* and thin-skinned now-a-days as to question the natural and legitimate consequence of all wars, and would lay down *dicta* in maritime, as well as in territorial conquests, that would not hold for twenty-four hours after the declaration of any war—that armed ships are to be prudes of virtue on the high seas, and lay no hand on an enemy's commercial property either afloat or on shore, although it is manifest that Prize Money, whether it be public or private property, represents the sinews of war, and would moreover comprise *matériel de guerre* that might be employed against us to our very serious disadvantage. It might just as well be said that armies on service should rather starve than lay hand on the corn, wine, and oil, or seize the flocks and herds, which abound on the fat lands of an enemy's country, the property of course of private owners. 1704.

Why should Gibraltar be given back to Spain? The Spanish people have never proved themselves conscious or worthy of its value even while they had it; and the inhabitants of the fortress, who have been allowed self-government under all the rights of religion and property, have never evinced the slightest inclination to get rid of us. They know that, whoever be the master, their fate is to live in a garrison town, and they have a sufficient sense of their own interests to know who is their best master. If when the Spaniards really owned it, they never made any use of it, surely its possession by us for 165 years, that is to say—the duration of five and a half generations of men—has established a pretty good right of freehold against them; and I trust that we

1704. shall hold it with a devotional firmness to our right in the soil, until the stronger man shall be found who can eject us out of our tenement.

Leaving as many men as he could spare for the garrison of Gibraltar, and supplying it with all the stores he could collect from the fleet, Sir George Rooke sailed back to Tetuan to take in wood and water; but here he was apprised by his scouts that the whole French fleet, having united their force at Toulon, was at sea, under the young Count de Thoulouse, in number much superior to the British fleet and that of the Dutch under Admiral Callemburg conjoined.

Sir George Rooke resolves to attack the French fleet under the Count de Thoulouse.

A Council of War was therefore summoned, in which it was resolved to sail up the Mediterranean in search of the enemy and engage them. However, in the ardour and hurry of this resolve there was not due care taken to inquire what quantity of ammunition was to be found in the ships of the fleet, after the great waste of their stock before Gibraltar, for it had seldom happened that so much powder had been expended in any action at sea, or previously than in that bombardment, and this omission had considerable effect on the consequences of the engagement we have now to relate.

The French sighted off Malaga.

On the 9th of August Rooke had the good fortune to descry the French fleet off Malaga, where it lay anchored, to the number of fifty-two great ships and twenty-four galleys. The confederate fleet consisted of fifty-three ships of the line; but the French were superior in the number of men and cannon, as well as in weight of metal; and the British were altogether unprovided with galleys, of which the French reaped much advantage in the engagement that now ensued.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel commands the advance.

It was, however, the 13th, at ten in the morning, when Sir Cloudesley Shovel, commanding the advanced squadron (acting upon the maxim which has always marked the British seamen, to fight at as close quarters

as they could), pressed all sail, under a favourable wind, to encounter the Marquis de Villette, who commanded the advanced squadron of the enemy. The impetus with which Shovel, who led the van, advanced distanced him so much from the main body of the fleet, under Rooke, that the French thought to envelop his squadron, and sent seven of their galleys into the midst of the English ships; but Rooke, in the "St. Catherine," saw the manœuvre, and came up to the support of his officer, and engaged "Le Foudroyant," the flag-ship of the Count de Thoulouse, while the Dutch Admiral Callenburg vigorously attacked the French centre. Several of the English ships were, nevertheless, after a time, obliged to go out of the line for want of ammunition, and, in so doing, they suffered much from the galleys, who endeavoured to tow them away. Towards seven in the evening one of the French Admiral's seconds advanced and commenced a close fight with the "St. George," commanded by Sir John Jennings. Rooke passed on to the ship of the Bailli de Lorraine, and in the struggle the French commander fell in the fight, and his command was taken by M. de Grandpré, with whom the conflict was continued. The English, under the wind, had some advantage in these engagements; but the French succeeded in avoiding every attempt to board. The battle lasted till night parted the combatants, when the French crowded all sail to force through the English line. Rooke, however, was enabled to slacken sail and to close the line in the centre against the enemy.

1704.

Want of ammunition compels several English ships to go out of action.

The effect of this manœuvre was that several of the French ships were shut off astern, and were so warmly encountered by the British broadsides as to be under the necessity of calling up their galleys to tow them off. The flag-ships of De Villette and Belle-isle were now seen to be both on fire, and were extinguished with difficulty. During the night the wind changed, which gave some advantage to the

Perilous position

1704. — of the English fleet. The French withdraw from Malaga.

French, and, indeed, if they had availed themselves of it the result might have been fatal to the English, whose ammunition was entirely exhausted: but the Count de Thoulouse—a young and utterly inexperienced Commander—who was given a charge for which he was quite incapable, was advised to withdraw, and, on the following day, the French fleet sailed away from Malaga. It is said the Count desired to renew the combat next day, but was forbid by the "Marquis d'Estrées, Mentor de la Flotte." There was not a ship taken, sunk, or destroyed in either fleet, but many vessels in both had been very rudely handled. The young "Grand Admiral" received two contusions from splinters, one of which struck and cut his cravat. The exact loss experienced by the French in this action is not known, but they admitted to the loss of 200 officers, and that 7 of their ships had caught fire in the battle. There were 687 killed and 1632 wounded in the English ships, and 400 in the Dutch ships, including about 20 officers.

Great losses of the combatants.

Much has been said and written as to the probable consequences of a renewal of this battle. The condition in which the French ships were was never precisely known, but the want of ammunition on board the English fleet, and the shot-holes in most of the ships' bottoms, render it probable that a second engagement must have been board-and-board, in which every vessel must have either sunk their adversaries or been sunk by them. Our Admiral, however, acted boldly and judiciously, for knowing his weakness it was his obvious policy to show a good front and dare the enemy. Accordingly, when the morning broke, the English fleet appeared prepared and seeking for a second engagement, when Sir George, seeing the French fleet wince, evinced a disposition to bring them to battle, always cautiously avoiding the initiative, and for two days he followed them in their course, until he ordered his fleet to drop astern and make all haste for

The French declining to renew the battle, the honour of the action remains with Sir G. Rooke.

Gibraltar, to careen the ships and refit. The honour of the action remained with the English, although the nation was never much elated with only a drawn-battle with the French at sea. The French, on the other hand, were very boastful, and asserted, as they always do, in a somewhat hectoring spirit, that the action had been to their advantage, if it were not a conclusive defeat; accordingly, Louis XIV. ordered a Te Deum to satisfy the Parisians; but the historic fact remains unquestionable that this was the last considerable naval armament which the French sent forth to sea for many years subsequently, which is a tacit acknowledgment that they had been horribly mauled. 1704. —

Sir George Rooke reinforces Gibraltar, and sails to England.

Sir George Rooke stayed eight days at Gibraltar to see his fleet repaired, and to supply that place with a competent garrison, and every sort of supply against the emergency which he foresaw would shortly happen—a strenuous endeavour on the part of the enemy to wrest this important conquest from Great Britain. Then, leaving eighteen men-of-war under Sir John Leake, for the defence of the coasts of the Peninsula, and to be in the way to succour the Rock, the Admiral returned to England. He was received by the Queen and her Ministry, and by the people in general, with those marks of esteem and veneration which were due to his long services and great and signal success: but it was the fate of Rooke to be always persecuted by party envy and detraction. Notwithstanding these eminent services he was removed from the command of the fleet. The Whig historian, Bishop Burnet, records: "The Tories magnified the Admiral's successes." "I have heard men skilled in naval affairs differ much in the sentiments of Rooke's conduct in that action, some not only justifying but extolling it as much as others condemned it." "Shovel advanced to a close fight: Rooke fought at a greater distance." "It has been much questioned by men who understand these matters well, whether our

Bitter party spirit of the day.

Sir George Rooke is removed from the command of the fleet.

1704. possessing ourselves of Gibraltar, and our maintaining ourselves in it so long, was to our advantage or not." The spirit in which the Bishop relates the entire war evinces the same spirit. In the contest of parties, it was which was the greatest exploit, the great military battle of Marlborough, or the naval successes of Rooke? Burnet says, "the Tories went into the addresses of congratulation to the Queen very coldly." "They joined this with that which the Duke had gained at Hochstadt." "It was certainly ridiculous to set forth the glory of so disputable a victory in the same words with the undoubted successes we had at this period by land." But such is a specimen of the prevalence of party spirit at this time, it induced our brave warrior to quit the active service of his country, and to spend the remainder of his life in retirement.

Party spirit of the Whig historian, Bishop Burnet.

Perhaps some portion of the blame of this rests on the gallant Admiral himself. There is no doubt that in party matters he was too warm and eager, he had supported Harley and the Tories in the House o Commons, and was therefore a determined opponent to the Whig Government. When the Parliament, in the speech from the throne, spoke generally of "the great and remarkable success with which God has blessed our arms," the Lords, in reply, "congratulate the great and glorious success of your Majesty's arms, in conjunction with those of your allies, under the Duke of Marlborough." But the Commons are more just, and name the victory obtained by your "Majesty's fleet, under the command and by the courage of Sir George Rooke." The gallant Admiral had still a place in the Lower House as M.P. for Portsmouth, but he resumed his seat without one word from the Speaker, or the slightest notice of his great services, although his friend Harley was in the chair.

Sir George Rooke, however, was a warm supporter of Harley and the Tories.

Like most men of unquestioned greatness, Sir George

Rooke was a man of great natural modesty of character. There could not have been two opinions in any man of either party as to the unimpeachable good conduct and courage which had signalized the career of this great Admiral, but, finding himself the butt of party malice, he bowed to a storm which no merit could avert, and carried with him into private life the esteem and veneration of the most enlightened and virtuous of his contemporaries, living among his friends and neighbours with a cordial hospitality, and cheered by the reflection of a long series of splendid achievements, and a life of activity which had been honourably and successfully devoted to the service of his country. 1704.

Death of Sir George Rooke, Jan. 24, 1708-9.

Sir George Rooke died on the 24th January, 1708-9, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, where a monument is erected to his memory; but no public record of his pre-eminent glory has been erected by Parliamentary gratitude in those places where Great Britain has been wont to honour her greatest and most distinguished sons. He was thrice married, and by his second wife (a Mrs. Luttrel) he left one son who survived him.

His character.

The professional character of Rooke is without a stain. He never lost a single ship under his command, either at sea or in action. The Dutch, who are as good judges of naval prowess as any nation in the world, and who served constantly under him, have recorded a very high estimate of his courage, prudence, judgment, and naval ability. And Charles XII., no mean judge of personal bravery, bore evidence to this quality in Sir George. Considering the great employments our Admiral had held, by which many might have built up princely estates, he left but a very moderate fortune to his heir, so moderate that on making his will some of his friends are reported to have expressed surprise at the narrowness of his

1704. circumstances, which drew from this good and kind man the following reply:—"I do not leave much, but all that I have was honestly gotten: it never cost a sailor a tear, nor the nation a farthing[1]."

[1] Tindal; Burnet; Chalmers; Biographies, *passim*; Campbell's Lives of the Admirals; Macaulay; Lediard's Naval History of England.

INDEX.

Akbar, revolt of, 280; defeat of, 281.

Albemarle, Duke of. *See* Monk.

Algiers, Blake concludes a treaty with the Dey of, 350; is bombarded by Du Quesne, and the French slaves released, 444; is nearly destroyed by D'Estrées, 548.

Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul, Emperor of India, his parentage, 262; characters of the four sons of Shah Jehan, Dara, Sujah, Aurungzebe, and Morad, 263; Sujah marches to Delhi, and is defeated by Dara, the eldest brother, 264; Aurungzebe defeats his brother Dara, and imprisons his father, 266; he causes his brother Morad to be murdered; and defeats his brother Sujah at Kedjera, 267; murder of his brother Dara; Aurungzebe becomes sovereign of Hindostan; death of his father Shah Jehan, 268; public and domestic reforms effected by Aurungzebe, 269; he patronises learning, and establishes schools and hospitals; his duplicity and indirectness, 270; he defeats the Affghans; also the Patans, 272; he seeks to establish Mohammedanism on the ruins of the faith of the Hindoos, but is withstood by Sivaji, 273; Surat is taken and plundered by Sivaji, 275; Sivaji is entrapped by Aurungzebe, but he escapes, 276; Surat is again plundered, 277; failure of Aurungzebe to subdue Sivaji, who dies in possession of his conquests, 279; death of Jeswunt Sing, another of the Emperor's enemies; revolt of Aurungzebe's son, Akbar, 280; Aurungzebe finally defeats his son and his allies, and endeavours to subjugate all India, 281; he destroys the temples of Brahma; he subjugates the Carnatic, 282; extent and opulence of his empire, 283; his dying address to his son Azim; his death, 284; his personal appearance and character; historical parallel between him and Louis XIV., 285.

Ayscough, Sir George, his action with De Ruyter off Plymouth, 371; his ship being caught on the Galloper Sands, he is taken prisoner, 58, 384.

Bantry Bay, battle of, 179, 533, 576.

Barcelona, capture of, 602.

Bart, Jean, Du Bart, or John Barth, a French Commodore, 561; his birth; serves as a cabin-boy, 562; alleged successes of Jean Bart over the Dutch, 563; is carried a prisoner into Plymouth, but he and his companions escape, and land safely in France, 564; he serves under De Tourville, 565; his depredations on the coasts of Norway and Scotland, 566; anecdote of Jean Bart and an English Captain, *note*, 566; Louis XIV. and Jean Bart, anecdotes,

567; he captures 100 vessels laden with corn from the Dutch, 568; his successful defence of Dunkirk, 569; he eludes the blockading fleet at Dunkirk, and enters the Baltic; his successes compel the English to send Admiral Benbow in pursuit of him, 570; anecdotes of Jean Bart and Louis XIV., 571; Jean Bart convoys the Prince of Conti to Dantzig; characteristic anecdote; his death; honourable conduct of Louis XIV. to his family, 572; his personal appearance and character, 573.

Bellasis, Sir Henry, dismissed the service, *note*, 612.

Benbow, John, an English Admiral, his birth, 580; Charles II. and Benbow's father; Benbow a Captain and owner in the Mediterranean trade, 581; defeats a Sallee Rover; characteristic anecdote, 581, 582; he receives a commission from James II., 582; he serves in the Channel, and is made Master of the Fleet; he attacks St. Malo, 583; he commands the "Charles" in the bombardment of Calais, 584; he fails to prevent the escape of Du Bart from Dunkirk; is wounded; Benbow is excepted from the dissatisfaction of the public with the Commanders and management of the Navy, 585; he is sent to the West Indies, 586; William III. and Benbow, anecdote, *note*, 586; his spirited conduct at Trinidad and at Porto Bello; returns to England; his interview with King William, 587; he is again sent to the West Indies; he encounters M. du Casse off Cape St. Martha, 588; is wounded; dastardly behaviour of his Captains, four of whom are sentenced to be shot, 589; his death; monument to his memory at Shrewsbury; his character, 590; letter of the French Admiral du Casse to Benbow, *note*, 591.

Berkeley, Sir William, is killed, 384.

Berwick, Duke of, is taken prisoner at Neerwinden, 207; is killed, 290.

Binkes, Admiral, takes Cayenne from the French, 544; defeats D'Estrées, 545; is killed, 546.

Blake, Robert, a Parliamentary Admiral, his birth and education, 317; elected for Bridgwater in 1640; refuses to surrender to Prince Rupert, 318; his successful defence of Taunton, for which Parliament twice votes him 500*l*., 319; appointed to a naval command as General of the Fleet, 320; Blake is sent in pursuit of Prince Rupert, 321; he demands permission of the King of Portugal to attack Rupert, 322; he seizes the Brazil Fleet, and captures after an action the "Plate" Fleet, 323; he concludes a peace with the King of Portugal, 324; he pursues Rupert from Lisbon to Carthagena, where he defeats his fleet, and to Toulon, where Rupert finally escapes, 325; he captures a French frigate; on his return to England receives the thanks of Parliament, and is made a Warden of the Cinque Ports, 326; he captures the Scilly Islands, 327; he attacks Jersey, 328; harasses Carteret, and finally effects a landing; captures Mont Orgueil Castle, 327; receives the surrender of Carteret, 328; he reforms the Navy, 330; insulted by Tromp, after an action, he compels him to retire, 332; Parliament orders Blake to make reprisals, 333; severe losses of the Dutch; Blake defeats the Dutch off the North Foreland, 334; he is defeated off Foulness, 336; Tromp's bravado in the Channel after the battle, 337; Blake sails from Queenborough, and defeats Tromp in the battle of Portland; he is wounded 340; he first employs Marines, 341; Tromp sails to the North, and is pursued by Blake, 342; his declaration on the change of Government, 343; Blake arrives to the relief of Monk and

Deane, who are contending with great odds against Tromp; defeat and narrow escape of Tromp, 344; great losses of the Dutch, 345; Blake again elected for Bridgwater, 1654; he is sent to the Mediterranean, 346; effect of his renown; he demands and obtains redress at Leghorn, 347; he sails to Tunis, and demands the release of the English captives, 348; on an insolent answer of the Dey to a second demand, he destroys the Dey's fleet, 349; he concludes treaties with the Deys of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, 350; he sails to Cadiz; and to Lisbon to demand redress for an assault on Mr. Meadows, 351; he sails to Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, and resolves to attack the galleons in harbour, 353; he destroys the Plate Fleet; the Protector and Parliament appoint a General Thanksgiving, 354; anecdote of Blake's spirit and justice, 355; Cromwell's high approval of Blake; ill health compels him to return to England, 356; he receives the Protector's letter, and the thanks of Parliament, 357; he dies in Plymouth Sound; his remains are buried in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, 358; disgraceful removal of his body after the Restoration; his character, 359.
Bohemia, natural military advantages of, 302.
Bombay, the first possession of, by the English, 271.
Bombs, first use of, on shipboard, 444.
Brandt's, Gerard, narrative of the first battle of Solebay, 452; his narrative of the four days' fight, 460.
Brinvilliers, Marquise de, 74.
Brounker, Lord, strange conduct of, 483.

Catherine of Braganza, lands at Portsmouth, 427.
Cartagena, successful attack of the French on, 523.
Carteret, Sir George, surrenders the Channel Islands to Blake, 330.
Cayenne, capture of, by the Dutch, 544.
Chain-shot, first use of, 60.
Charles II., addresses solicitations to Monk, 19; his "Declaration," and letter to Monk, 49; is proclaimed King, 51; visits the confederate fleet, and is received with great state by D'Estrées, 541; he desires to go into action, 542; his meeting with Colonel Benbow, 581.
Charles XII. of Sweden, and Sir George Rooke, 611.
Château-Regnaud, Marshal de, a French Admiral, his birth, 574; successful action with the Dutch, 575; he joins De Tourville with a fleet at Brest; his action with Admiral Herbert in Bantry Bay, 576; he commands a squadron in the battle off Beachy Head, 577; conducts the fleet from Toulon to Brest, 578; he is sent on an expedition to the Spanish settlements; he is compelled, on Sir George Rooke's attack of Vigo, to burn a portion of his fleet; he is made a Marshal of France; his death, 579.
Coehorn, Fort, capture of, 197, 223.
Colbert, the great French minister, notice of, 500.
Condé, Prince of, tribute to William Prince of Orange at Seneff, 158.
Cox, Captain, gallant exploit of the English under, 449.
Cromwell, Oliver, bestows rewards on Monk, 20; his high approval of Blake, 356; writes a letter to Blake, 357; Cromwell's death, 20, 480.
Cromwell, Richard, resignation of, 22.

Dartmouth, Earl of, the wind and the indecision of James II. render his efforts to prevent the landing of Prince of Orange fruitless, 532.
Dates, unreliability of the, in all accounts of the naval actions of the seventeenth century, 385.
Deane, Admiral, is killed, 13, 344.
De Boufflers, Marshal, timely arrival of, at Steenkirk, 199; is arrested at the surrender of Namur, 225.
D'Estrées, Gabrielle, mistress of Henry IV., 539.

D'Estrées, Maréchal, a French admiral, brief notice of his family, 539; his birth; serves in the army, but is eventually appointed to the sea-service, 540; is appointed to the command of the French fleet; his account of the visit of Charles II. to the confederate fleet, 541; commands the French fleet at Solebay and in the subsequent battles with De Ruyter, 543; he attacks Tobago, but meets with a most disastrous defeat, and returns to France, 545; he captures Goree; and succeeds in his second attack on Tobago; his fleet is wrecked on the Bird Islands, 546; he is made a Marshal of France; he compels the Dey of Tripoli to release the Christian prisoners, 547; he nearly destroys Algiers; his death; his character, 548.

De Witt, the Pensionary, his testimony to the English in the four days' fight, 60; De Witt and his brother murdered by the populace, 398.

Du Casse, Admiral, his action with Benbow, 588; his letter to Benbow, 591.

Dunbar, battle of, 8; the first English military medal was struck for, 9.

Dundee, the capture of, by Monk, 11.

Dundee, Viscount, his ancestry, education, and earliest military service, 234; the Prince of Orange: anecdote, 235: the skirmish of Drumclog, 236; Graham is created Viscount Dundee, 237; marches into England; the encounter at Wincanton, 238; has an interview with King James, and returns to Scotland, 239; his interview with the Duke of Gordon, and appearance in Edinburgh, 240: he withdraws to Stirling, 241; he is outlawed, 242: he is pursued by General Mackay, 244; Mackay, not receiving reinforcements, retreats, and is pursued by Dundee, 247; Dundee's plans for the campaign, 250; Lord Murray's clansmen desert to Dundee, 251; Mackay's preparations to encounter Dundee, 253: the eve of the battle of Killiecrankie, 254; advance of Mackay, 255; Lochiel's request is heroically declined by Dundee, 256; the battle of Killiecrankie, 257; death of Dundee; lines on his death by Dryden, Pitcairn, and Aytoun, 258; his character, 259.

Du Quesne, Abraham, Marquis, Lieutenant-Général des Armées Navales de France, his birth, 435; he enters the Swedish service, and raises the siege of Gottingen, 436; is recalled and again enters the French service; strange story of his engagement with an English ship, 437; he commands a squadron under D'Estrées at Solebay; he captures Messina, 438; he receives a letter from Louis XIV. after the action off the isle of Lipari, 439; severe battle with De Ruyter, who dies of his wounds, 440; he defeats the Dutch and Spanish fleets, inflicting on them great losses, 416, 441; Louis XIV. purchases an estate for Du Quesne; he is sent to chastise the Algerines, 442; he is sent a second time, bombards Algiers, and obtains the release of the French slaves, 444; he bombards Genoa; his death, 445; he is presumptuously compared with De Ruyter by his biographer M. Richter, 445; Du Quesne's consistent Protestantism; he is refused burial in his own country, 447.

English influence in the East, commencement of, 271.

English troops in Portugal, brave conduct of, 130; great honour is given to them, 138.

Fehrbellin, battle of, 93.

Fleurus, battle of, 75.

Forbin, Count de, taken prisoner, 564; escapes, 565; cruises with Jean Bart, 556; his character of Jean Bart, 573.

Frederick the Great on the Great Elector, 100; his testimony to

the ability of Field Marshal Traun, 302, 306; is compelled by Traun to evacuate Bohemia, 311.
Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, The Great Elector; Houses of Brandenburg and Hohenzollern, 85; Frederick William obtains the Electorate, 86; his military training; obtains the investiture of the Duchy of Prussia, 87; enters into treaties with Sweden and Poland; organises his army, 88; concludes a treaty with France; defeats the Poles, the Tartars, and the Swedes, 89; harbours the exiled Huguenots, 90; joins the coalition against Louis XIV., and takes Rathenau, 91; defeats the Swedes under Wrangel at Fehrbellin, 93; takes Stettin and Stralzund, 94; compels the Swedes who had invaded East Prussia to retreat towards Courland, 95; makes peace with France; improves the condition of his subjects; mediates between Denmark and Sweden, 97; sends aid to Sobieski; his death, 98; his personal character and appearance, 100.
French Court, pernicious influence of the, on James II., 488.
French, strange conduct of the, in the battles with De Ruyter, said to be the result of secret instructions to D'Estrées, 513.
French Guards, "la troupe dorée," conspicuous bravery of, at the battle of Steenkirk, 199.
French military biography, hyperbolical character of, 446.
French Navy, insignificance of the, until 1664—1676, 575; rapid rise of, 503; great energy of, in the reign of William III., 534.

Genoa, bombardment of, 445.
Gibraltar, capture of, 619.
Glencoe, Massacre of, 194.
Graham of Claverhouse. *See* Viscount Dundee.
Guiscard, Marquis de, persuades the English Government to attempt an invasion of France, but the attempt is abandoned, 602.

Herbert, Arthur, Earl of Torrington, an English Admiral, 526; some account of his father from Clarendon's History, 527; he receives his first command, and distinguishes himself in an action with a Dutch frigate, 528; he is wounded; is made a Vice-Admiral; repulses the Dey of Algiers, 529; he is dismissed from his command by King James, and goes to Holland, 530; he tampers with the officers of the English fleet; he commands the Dutch fleet, and lands the Prince of Orange's army at Torbay, 531; he is created Earl of Torrington, and Baron of Torbay, 532; his battle with Château-Regnaud in Bantry Bay, 533; he is made Chief Commissioner of the Admiralty, but is superseded by the Earl of Pembroke, 534; De Tourville appears in the Channel, and Torrington receives peremptory orders to engage, 535; the battle off Beachy Head; partial success of the French, 535, 536; Torrington is brought to a court-martial, but is acquitted, 536; his death, and character, 537.
Hyde, Anne, Duchess of York, her death, 484.

Inchiquin, Lord, with troops for Portugal, are carried prisoners to Algiers; but are released and land at Lisbon, 120.

James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral of England, 475; his birth, 476; he escapes to Holland, 477; he enters the French service, 479; serves under Condé, 480; he becomes Lord High-Admiral of England, 481; he sends out a squadron which captures New York, 482; he commands at the first battle of Solebay, 483; his unpopularity from not pursuing the Dutch fleet, 484; the second battle of Solebay, 485; is deprived of his command by the Test Act; his character as a Naval commander, 486; his character, 487;

pernicious influence of the French Court on his character, 488; the Prince of Orange lands at Torbay, 172; King James II. is deserted by Lords Cornbury, Marlborough, Grafton, the Prince of Denmark, and his daughter the Princess Anne, 173; his flight, 174; he returns to Whitehall, 175; he lands in France, 176; his kind reception by Louis XIV., 177; he lands at Kinsale, 178; he enters Dublin, 179; he is baffled at Londonderry, 180; he is totally defeated at the battle of the Boyne, 185; he returns to France, 187; he meditates a descent on England, 513; witnesses the defeat at La Hogue, 517; his death, 488.

Kallemburg, Captain, bravery of, 415.

Lambert, General, defeats Sir George Booth, 23; negotiates with Monk, 29; he is taken prisoner and placed in the Tower, 49.
Lawson, Admiral Sir John, is killed at Solebay, 453.
Ley, Earl of Marlborough, takes possession of Bombay, 271; is killed at Solebay, 453.
Limerick, surrender of, 193.
Lisbon, relief of, by the opportune arrival of the Earl of Sandwich, 426.
Londonderry, siege of, 180.
Louis XIV. takes Maestricht, 154; Valenciennes, 160; Ghent and Ypres, 166; invests and captures Mons, 191; takes Namur, and returns to Versailles, 196; fulsome adulation paid to him by his Court, 187; his letter to Du Quesne, 439; purchases an estate for Du Quesne, 442; offers Van Tromp a command in the French navy, 465; his insolent treatment of the Doge of Genoa, 501; his power at its highest elevation, 503; his marriage of Madame de Maintenon only confirms him in his insolent policy, 504; receives Jean Bart at his Court, 567; his honourable conduct to the family of Jean Bart, 572; his alarm for the safety of Toulon, 604.
Luxembourg, Duke of, his birth and ancestry, 68; serves under Condé; imprisoned by Mazarin, 69; defends Valenciennes, and leads the forlorn hope at Cambrai; succeeds Condé in the chief command; defeats the Dutch at Woerden and Bodegrave, 70; commands the right wing at the battle of Senef; capture of Valenciennes, Cambrai, and St. Omer, 72; committed by Louvois to the Bastille, 73; is liberated and sent to command the French army in the Netherlands, and defeats Waldeck at Fleurus, 75; captures Namur, and defeats William III. at Steenkirk, 76; defeats William III. at Neerwinden, 79; masterly movement at Courtrai; his death, 82; his personal appearance and character; his popularity with the army, 83.

Macaulay, Lord, unjust reflections of, on the conduct of Marlborough, 597.
Mackay, General, notice of, *note*, 213; is defeated by Dundee at Killiecrankie, 257; is killed at Steenkirk, 243.
Magellan, successful stratagem of, 132.
Malaga, battle of, 600, 623.
Marines, first employment of, 341.
Marlborough, deserts James II., 173.
Mary, Queen, her death, 215.
Mings, Sir Christopher, is killed, 384.
Montes Claros, battle of, 135.
Monk, George, Duke of Aumerle, or Albermarle, his ancestry, 1; early military services; joins the naval service; serves in the Low Countries, 2; joins the King's party; made Governor of Dublin; taken prisoner, and sent to the Tower, 3; his treatise on military affairs; sides with Cromwell, who sends him to Ireland, 4; takes Belfast and Carrickfergus; makes peace with O'Neill, 5; proceeds

with Cromwell against the Scots, 7; anecdote of Monk at the battle of Dunbar, 8; takes Dundee; popularity of Monk in Scotland, 11; made General of the fleet, and defeats De Ruyter, 13; succeeds Blake in the command of the fleet; action off the Texel, 14; honours conferred on Monk, 15; Monk again sent to Scotland, 16; his marriage, 17; letter of Charles II. to Monk, his prudent behaviour, 19; death of Cromwell, 20; Monk's advice to Richard Cromwell, 21; Richard resigns; influence of Monk, 22; Dissolution of the "Rump" Parliament; Monk marches into England, 27; secures Berwick, Newcastle, and Carlisle, 28; Lambert negotiates with Monk, 29; "The Rump" re-assembles, and Monk arrives at Coldstream, 32; he marches to the assistance of Fairfax, 33; arrives in London, 34; his cautious behaviour, 35; receives the thanks of the House of Commons, 36; his proceedings in the City of London, 38; visit of Sir John Greenvil to Monk, 46; He sends a force against Lambert, who is taken prisoner, 32; he takes his seat for Devon; letter from Charles II., 49; Charles proclaimed King, 51; Monk is created Duke of Albemarle; observations on Monk's change of policy, 52; his character as a warrior and statesman, 53; alarming illness; on his recovery goes to command the fleet: action for four days against De Ruyter, 57: again attacks De Ruyter and defeats him, 60; his last service at Chatham, 62; his death, 63; his funeral obsequies, 64; his personal appearance and habits, 65; his uncourtly-manners; his religious sentiments, 67.

Narborough, Sir John, chastises the Dey of Tripoli, 593.

Naval tactics in De Ruyter's time confined to fighting in three squadrons, 420.

Navigation Act, 330, 365.

Navy, the English, disgraceful state of, 320; first reforms of, by Blake and his colleagues, 330, 337; naval tactics adopted for the first time in, 364; James and Louis XIV. entertain hopes of its defection, 512.

Neerwinden, battle of, 79, 206.

Nimeguen, Peace of, 167.

Opdam, Admiral, death of, 428, 452.

Ormond, Duke of, commands the land forces at the taking of Vigo, 613; his jealousy of Sir George Rooke, 615.

Peterborough, Earl of, captures Barcelona, 602.

Philip IV. of Spain, death of, 138.

Portugal, Queen Regent of, is extricated from a financial embarrassment by Lord Sandwich, 426.

Rapacity of the officers and men of both services at Port St. Mary, 612.

Red Sea Pirates, affair of the, 558.

Renau, Bernard, said to have first used bombs on shipboard, 444; Memorandum relating to, 549.

Rivers, Earl, 602.

Rooke, Sir George, a British Admiral, his birth; a Post-Captain at the age of thirty, 607; he sails to the relief of Londonderry; his pre-eminent bravery at La Hogue, for which he is knighted, 608; he is appointed to convoy the Smyrna fleet, but is surprised by De Tourville; he sails to Madeira, 609; he returns to England, enters Parliament, and is made a Lord of the Admiralty, 610; he sails to the Baltic and bombards Copenhagen, 611; he sails to Spain, summons Cadiz, and captures Forts St. Catherine and St. Mary; he abandons further operations against Cadiz, 612; he resolves to attack the French fleet at Vigo, 613; the land forces under the Duke of Ormond capture the batteries and castle; the boom is forced, and the fleet

enter the harbour; great losses of the enemy in ships and treasure, 614; Sir George Rooke arrives in England; the thanks of Parliament to Ormond and Sir George Rooke; speech of the Speaker (Harley), 615; Sir George Rooke's reply; he is made a Privy Councillor, 616; resolution of the House of Lords; he convoys the Archduke Charles to Spain, 616; his rigid discipline; he bombards Barcelona, and sails to Nice, 618; being reinforced by Admiral Shovel resolves to attack Gibraltar; gallant and successful attack of Captain Whitaker; surrender of the Governor, 619; reflections on the importance and retention of Gibraltar, 620; Sir George Rooke resolves to attack the French fleet under the Count de Thoulouse, 622; the battle of Malaga, 623; perilous position of the English fleet from the want of ammunition; the French withdraw: great losses of the combatants, 624; he reinforces Gibraltar, and returns to England; he is removed from the command of the fleet, 625; bitter party spirit of the time; Bishop Burnet; Sir George Rooke, however, was a warm supporter of Harley and the Tories, 626; his death; his character, 627.

Rupert, Prince, takes Kinsale; his escape from, 321; he escapes from Blake at Lisbon, Carthagena, and Toulon, to the West Indies, 325; arrives with his fleet during the four days' battle, 462; he commands the fleet at the battles of Scheveling and at the Helder, 404, 405.

Russell, Edward, Earl of Orford, an English Admiral, 550; he commands the "Phœnix" frigate; elected M.P. for Tavistock, 551; he goes to Holland and enters into the designs of the Prince of Orange, 552; he is made Commander-in-Chief of the fleet, 553; he defeats De Tourville at the battle of La Hogue, destroying a great part of the French fleet, 554; Admiral Russell, although victorious, is clamorously assailed on all sides, and dismissed from the command, 555; he is made First Lord of the Admiralty, and restored to the chief command; he sails to the Mediterranean, and shuts up the French fleet in Toulon, 556; the fleet is recalled, and Russell is created Earl of Orford, 557; the affair of the Red Sea Pirates; Orford is impeached with Lords Somers and Halifax, 558; he is acquitted, and again placed at the head of the Admiralty, 559; his death; his character, 560.

Russell, services of the House of, to the country, 550.

Ruyter, Michel Adriansz De, or, De Ruiter, Admiral-General of Holland, his birth and early history, 369; he is made Rear-Admiral, 370; he commands the Dutch fleet; action off Plymouth, 371; he is driven by Blake into Goree, 372; battle off Newport, 373; his gallant conduct on the death of Tromp, 374; is made Vice-Admiral of Holland and Friesland, 375; he sails to the Barbary States, the Baltic, and to the Mediterranean, 375, 376; he is sent to Copenhagen, and made Commander-in-Chief, 377; he defeats the Swedes, and captures Nybourg, 378; he proceeds to the Mediterranean, 379; returns to Holland on the death of Opdam, 380; he is made Admiral and General-in-Chief, 381; his generous defence of De Witt, 382; he has a battle of four days' duration with the English, in which the contending forces suffer severe losses, 384; battle off the North Foreland, 385; gallant conduct of De Ruyter, 386; he is compelled to retreat, 387; he is sent on an expedition to England, 389; he attacks Sheerness, and proceeds to Chatham, 390; he captures or destroys the men of war at Chatham, 391; medals struck to com-

memorate De Ruyter's triumph, 393; he again takes the command and fights the battle of Solebay, 395; rejoicings at London and at the Hague as for a victory, 396; murder of the Pensionary De Witt and his brother, and De Ruyter's family is threatened, 391; De Ruyter goes to the Hague, 400; the combined fleets attack De Ruyter at his anchorage, but are repulsed, and failing in their object return to their own shores, 403; he fights two battles with the combined fleet, one at Scheveling, the other near the Helder, 404, 405; indecisive results of these naval battles, 406; De Ruyter sails to the West Indies; he is repulsed in his attack on Martinique, 407; threatens Dominica, and returns to Holland, 408; De Ruyter sails to Spain, and from thence to Melazzo in Sicily, 409; his action with Du Quesne amid the Lipari islands, 410; he is joined by a Spanish fleet at Palermo, 412; he again encounters Du Quesne, and is wounded, 414; his death, 415; his funeral; his piety and humility, 418; his personal appearance, 419.

Ryswick, Peace of, 523, 547.

Sandwich, Edward Montagu, Earl of, his birth; serves under Fairfax, 422; succeeds Blake as General of the Fleet, 423; he is sent with the fleet to Denmark by Cromwell; he is dismissed from the command, 424; again appointed to the command of the fleet, and brings Charles II. to Dover; he is created Earl of Sandwich, 425; he convoys Catherine of Braganza from Lisbon to England, 426; he commands under the Duke of York, and defeats the Dutch with great loss, and chases them to the Texel, 428; he is sent as ambassador to Spain, 429; the Duke of York insults him on the eve of the battle of Solebay, 430; his watchfulness saves the fleet; his gallant conduct and death, 396, 431; his funeral, 432; his character; devotion of his crew, 433.

Schomberg, Field Marshal Von, his ancestry, birth, parentage, and education, 116; serves in the Thirty Years' War under Duke Bernhard, 117; afterwards under Marshal Turenne; he enters the Portuguese service, 118; the Spaniards under Don John of Austria invade Portugal; and summon Arronchez; Schomberg's attempt to relieve it frustrated by "Councils of War," 121; endeavours to reconstruct the Portuguese army, 122; he captures a Spanish convoy; the Spaniards take Jerumenha, 123; he resigns the command in disgust, but is recalled, 125; the nobles dispute his precedence, 126; Schomberg defeats the Spaniards at the battle of Ameixiel or O'Canal, 129; he captures Alcanza d'Alcantara, 131; defeats the Spaniards at the battle of Montes Claros, 135; he is ennobled, and quits Portugal; he is created a Marshal of France, and serves in Holland and on the Rhine, 140; quits France on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 141; he lands with the Prince of Orange at Torbay, and is made a Marshal and General, and created a Duke and Knight of the Garter; his campaign in Ireland; his difference with King William, 144; he is killed while crossing the Boyne, 145; his descendants, 146; recapitulation of the Marshal's deeds; his character, 147.

Schram, Admiral, is killed, 469.

Scilly Islands, capture of by Blake, 327; Sir Cloudesley Shovel wrecked on, 605.

Seignelai, M. de, death of, 510.

Senef, battle of, 72, 156.

Sévigné, Madame de, 140.

Shovel, Sir Cloudesley, a British Admiral, his birth, 592; daring act of young Shovel when a sea apprentice; Lieutenant Shovel is sent to negotiate with the Dey of Tripoli, 593; gallant exploit of

Lieutenant Shovel; serves at the defence of Tangier, 594; he joins the Prince of Orange; is knighted by William III., 595; he commands a squadron at Beachy Head, and the "Royal William" at La Hogue; satisfactory result of an inquiry into his conduct, 596; he embarks the land forces at Camaret Bay, 597; he bombards Dunkirk and Calais, 598; sent to Spain to reinforce Sir George Rooke; shares in the capture of Gibraltar, 599; battle of Malaga, 600; Sir Cloudesley Shovel commands the advance, 622; his report of the action, 601, 602; he commands with the Earl of Peterborough at the capture of Barcelona, 602; his spirited conduct at Lisbon; he commands the fleet at the combined attack of the allies on Toulon, 603; the passage of the Var; defeat of the Prince of Saxe-Gotha; the allies abandon the enterprise, 604; previous to his departure he bombards the town and port of Toulon; he is wrecked on the Scilly Islands; his body discovered by fishermen, 605; his remains are buried in great state in Westminster Abbey; his character, 606.

Sivaji, opposes the Emperor Aurungzebe, 273.

Sobieski, John, King of Poland; his birth, parentage, and early education, 102; serves under Casimir and defeats the Tartars, 103; defeats the Turks, and denounces their proposals for a peace; defeats the Sultan in Moldavia, 104; is elected King of Poland; defeats the Turks at Lemberg, and concludes a treaty with them, 105; the Turks besiege Vienna, 106; Sobieski marches to its relief; joy of the citizens; rout of the Turks, 109; triumphal entry of Sobieski into Vienna; ingratitude of the Emperor Leopold III.; Sobieski again defeats the Turks, 112; discomforts of the closing years of his life; his death, 113; his personal appearance, habits, and character, 114; his eldest granddaughter marries the first Pretender, 115.

Solebay, first battle of, 452, 483; second battle of, 395, 431, 485.

Sprague, Sir Edward, repulses the Dutch in the Thames, 391; is killed, 406, 469.

Steenkirk, battle of, 76, 119.

Sweden, death of the King of, 378.

Sweers, Admiral, is killed, 469.

Talmash, General, is killed at Camaret Bay, 597.

Tangier, Moorish attack on, repulsed; 594; is abandoned, 595.

Toulon, siege of, 603.

Tourville, Marshal de, a French Admiral, his birth; he is made a Knight of Malta, 490; he volunteers against the Turks, and distinguishes himself in an encounter with them, 491; is wounded in an action with Algerine pirates, 492; alleged romantic episode in his life, 492—494; he is presented at the court of Louis XIV., 495; commands a ship in an expedition to Candia, 496; serves under D'Estrées at the battle of Solebay, 497; he captures a Spanish frigate; reviews a fleet at Dunkirk in presence of Louis XIV., 499; he is named Lieutenant-General of the Navy, 500; he blockades Genoa, and conveys the Doge to Marseilles, 501; arrogance of De Tourville, 502; his marriage, 505; he is made Vice-Admiral General, 506; he engages the confederate fleet off Beachy Head, and remains master of the Channel, 508; he makes a descent on Teignmouth, and burns part of the town, 509; he is baffled by Admiral Russell in an attempt to capture the Smyrna fleet, 510; he receives orders to fight the English at all hazards, 513; he receives counter orders from the King too late, 515; the battle of La Hogue, 516; De Tourville, notwithstanding his defeat, is made a Marshal of France, 518; he organises a new fleet, 519; he captures the greater

part of the Smyrna fleet, 520; De Tourville and his men are feted at Toulon, 521; he is blockaded in Toulon by Admiral Russell, 522; his death; his character, 524.

Traun, Otto Ferdinand, Count of Abensberg, a Prussian Field Marshal, his family and early education, 287; serves under Stahremberg, in Spain; is wounded, 288; his brave stand at San Germano; and defence of Capua, 290; made Feldzeugmeister, 291; quells an insurrection in Hungary: is made Imperial Field Marshal, 292; defeats the Spaniards at Bologna, 293; resigns his command in Italy 295; appointed *adlatus* to Prince Charles of Lorraine, 296; Traun's masterly passage of the Rhine, 297; he recrosses the Rhine and marches to Bohemia, where Frederick the Great had seized Prague, 299; siege of Prague; Traun baffles the King of Prussia, 304; he harasses Frederick by his incessant manœuvres, 306; he receives orders to cut off the King from Prague, 308; the Prussians withdraw from Prague, 310; the Prussians evacuate Bohemia; contest about the election of an Emperor, 311; marvellous example of Traun's practical strategy, which compels the French to recross the Rhine, 312; Maria Theresa and the newly elected Emperor visit Traun in his camp, 314; his death; his general character and eminent military talents, 314; his high military character not sufficiently prized in military memoirs, 315; probable reasons of this neglect, 316.

Tripoli, Blake concludes a treaty with the Dey of, 350; D'Estrées compels the Dey to release the Christian prisoners, 547; Sir John Narborough destroys the ships in the harbour, 594.

Tromp, Martin, a Dutch Admiral; his birth, 361; he is taken prisoner by the English, 362; he is made Admiral, and twice defeats the Spaniards, 363; he attacks the Spanish fleet in the Downs, and gains a complete victory, 364; honours paid to him in England and Holland, 365; in the Commonwealth war he is defeated by Blake; but afterwards defeats Blake, and rides in triumph through the Channel with a broom at his masthead; he is however successively defeated by Blake, 366; he is killed in a battle with Monk, 346, 367, 374; his character as a Naval Commander, 367.

Tromp, Cornelis, or Van Tromp, Admiral-General of Holland; his birth, 448; he commands the "Moon" in a battle with the English off Leghorn, in which the English were defeated, 450; he chastises the Algerines, 451; he commands a squadron at the first battle of Solebay, 452; on the death of Opdam, he conducts the retreat of the Dutch fleet, 453; he is appointed to the chief command, but is superseded by De Ruyter, 455; he refuses to serve as second in command, 456; at length consents to serve, 457; Van Tromp's gallant conduct in the four days' fight, 461; his equivocal behaviour in the action off the North Foreland, 463; De Ruyter's remarks on his conduct, and Tromp's defence, 463, 464; his commission is revoked; Louis XIV. offers him a command in the French Navy: his noble reply, 465; he is restored to the service, 466; commands a squadron in three battles under De Ruyter, 466, 467; his desperate encounter with Sir Edward Spragge, 468; he insults the French coast, 469; he is knighted by Charles II., 470; he is sent to the Sound, 471; he is made a Count by the King of Denmark; his timely arrival in the Baltic, 472; he assists in the captures of Stettin and the Isle of Rugen; his death; his character, 473; his jealousy of De Ruyter and unworthy behaviour to

Sweers, great blots on his memory, 474.
Tunis, Blake concludes a treaty with the Dey of, 350.

Van Galen, Admiral, is killed, 450.
Vauban invents "parallels," 154.
Vigo Bay, destruction of the French fleet in, and capture of the Spanish galleons, 613.

Wager, singular, between Château Regnaud and De Tourville, 495, 575.
Waldeck, Prince of, defeat of, at Fleurus, 75.
Weston, Earl of Portland, is killed at Solebay, 453.
William III., King of England, his birth, 149; takes the oaths as Stadtholder, and repairs to the army, 151; he takes Noerden, 154; battle of Seneff, 157; Condé's tribute to the conduct of William, 158; William is seized with the small-pox; devotion of young Bentinck; the Prince raises the siege of Maestricht; he loses the battle of Mont Cassel, 161; William marries the Princess Mary of England, 163; Treaty of Nimeguen; displeasure of William; he attacks Luxembourg at Casteau, 167; he receives Bishop Burnet into his confidence; several of the English nobility and gentry urge him to assist them by arms, 169; he decides on the invasion of England, 170; he lands at Torbay, 171; he marches to Exeter, 172; desertion of Churchill and others, and of the Prince of Denmark and the Princess Anne from James II.; he continues his march, 173; flight of James II., 174; the Prince enters London, 175; James II. lands in France, 176; Parliament declares the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England, 177; King William declares War against France, 179; he lands at Carrickfergus, and marches to meet King James, 183; William is wounded, 184; he totally defeats King James at the battle of the Boyne, 186; he besieges Limerick, but is compelled to raise the siege, 188; he returns to England, and appoints Marlborough to the command in Ireland, 190; William takes the command of the Confederate army in Holland, 192; narrow escape of the King, 193; design against his life, 195; he is defeated by Luxembourg at the battle of Steenkirk, 199; he relieves Charleroi, and returns to England; his uncongenial disposition, 201; he narrowly escapes capture by Du Bart, 568; he again takes the command, and forces the French lines, 204; he is defeated by Luxembourg at the battle of Neerwinden, 206; Berwick, taken prisoner, is brought before William, 207; his bravery extorts the admiration of his enemies, 210; he forms a Whig ministry; returns to Holland, 211; he captures Huy, 214; returns to England; death of Queen Mary; he is greatly affected by her death; he attends her funeral, 216; he again takes the field, and resolves to invest Namur, 218; successful assault of the confederates, 219; De Boufflers finally surrenders to King William, 224; Public thanksgivings for the capture of Namur, 225; Plots against the King's life; Calais is bombarded, 226; William's title to the Crown is recognized by the Treaty of Ryswick, 229; he falls from his horse; his death, 230; his military and political character, 231; his delight in danger; his domestic character, 232.

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